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INAUGURALDISSERTATION

Touring Berlin. Virtual Destination, Tourist Communication and the Multiple city

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Zusammenfassung

Mittels einer Untersuchung von standardisierten Praktiken (Stadtrundgängen und Stadtrundfahrten) und Dispositiven (Stadtkarten, Reiseführer) fürs „Touren“ von Städten zeigt diese Dissertation, (1) wie die Stadt Berlin in ein virtuelles Objekt, nämlich, einen touristischen Zielort, transformiert wird, (2) wie diese Transformation nicht nur durch die Bewegung von Touristen im Raum und das Unterwegssein ermöglicht wird, sondern durch touristische Kommunikation über die Stadt, und (3) wie diese emergente touristische Stadt in einer multiplen und polykontexturalen städtischen Öffentlichkeit eingebettet ist, wo sie in verschiedenen Typen von Beziehung mit naheliegenden Inszenierungen der Stadt eintritt, wie die der Stadt-Marketing und der kollektiven Erinnerungspolitik. Drei weitere Aspekte sind zu erwähnen, die den gesamten Text subtil anregen. Die Dissertation stellt eine neue Theorie des Tourismus als Kommunikationsform, und nicht als Form des Reisens, auf; sie integriert die Luhmannsche Kommunikationstheorie mit der Akteur-Netzwerk-Theorie, und sie ist durchaus empirisch, basierend auf einer jahrlangen ethnographischen Untersuchung (2005-2006) von Praktiken und Dispositiven des „Tourens“ im zeitgenössischen Berlin.

Schlagwörter:

Tourismus, Stadtforschung, Funktionale Differenzierung, Kommunikationstheorie, Akteur-Netzwerk Theorie

Abstract

Through the study of standardized practices (walking tours, bus-tours) and devices (maps, guidebooks) for touring cities, this dissertation shows (1) how the city of Berlin is transformed into a virtual object, namely, an urban destination, (2) how such transformation is enabled not simply by tourist movement in space and being away from ‚home‘, but by tourist communication on the city, and (3) how this emergent tourist city is embedded in a multiple and polycontextural urban public sphere, in which it enters into different types of relationship with neighbouring enactments of the city, such as those of city-marketing and collective memory. Subtly informing the whole text there are three aspects to be mentioned: the dissertation proposes a new theory of tourism as a form of communication, not of travel; it integrates Luhmann’s communication theory with actor-network theory; and it is throughout empirical, based on a year-long ethnographic study (2005-2006) of touring practices and devices in contemporary Berlin.

Keywords:

Tourism, Urban Studies, Functional Differentiation, Communication Theory, Actor-Network Theory

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1. Introduction: Theory, Tourism and Fieldwork in Berlin

1.1. A Theoretical Challenge for Tourism Studies and Beyond

The study of tourism is going through a paradoxical stage. In the late 1980's numerous disciplines, such as geography, anthropology, and sociology, started to accept tourism as a legitimate object of study –not without hesitation and a certain disdain. Consequently, the last two decades have seen an institutionalization and exponential growth in the study of tourism comparable only to the immense increase in tourism itself. Despite this, the field of tourism studies exhibits a relative lack of theoretical discussion and conceptual innovations that could capitalize on the increasing numbers of empirical studies. Thus, whilst the times when books and articles needed many pages legitimating the endeavours are over, this new legitimacy has not come without any risks.

The first risk is assuming that tourism research is a consolidated, mature field, where conceptual and theoretical innovation is taking place, and consequently producing new research based exclusively on its still sparse theoretical corpus. The second risk is assuming that the growth in the tourist industry is reason enough to jump directly into the empirical study of specific tourist phenomena overlooking the need for reflections on their societal structure and function. In my view, these are not just risks, but also realities affecting large areas of the field. Against this background, it would be healthy to reactivate broad theoretical discussions concerning the *tourist* nature of tourism and its very specific relationships with cities and society.

The situation is complicated and not self-evident. A brief look at the literature reveals that the majority of studies focus on the psychological, economic, political or aesthetic dimensions of tourism, ignoring its tourist dimension. In the case of urban tourism this is particularly salient. Martin Selby noted a few years ago, "urban tourism has been hijacked by discourse on urban regeneration in disciplines such as geography, planning, and sociology" (Selby, 2004b: 187). Since tourism has particularly in European cities become a strategic sector for local development and urban regeneration, its study has mostly been framed in terms of strategies for inter-urban competition. Being aware of the economic and political relevance of such strands of research, I shall argue that such perspectives reduce tourism to its

economic and representational consequences and give no clues about *what* is urban tourism, what is the *tourist* nature of tourism and its *relationships* to the city.

There are, however, some remarkable exceptions to this situation. The most recent ones can be found in the journal *Tourist Studies* (e.g. Edensor, 2001; Franklin, 2004; Jansson, 2007; Jóhannesson, 2005; Obrador Pons, 2003) and in some unpublished dissertations (e.g. van der Duim, 2005). The influence of symmetrical perspectives on society, technology, and nature, and particularly the import of analytical perspectives and concepts developed by the Actor-Network Triumvirate of Bruno Latour, John Law, and Michel Callon is an important commonality of this still marginal corpus of work. However, whilst Actor-Network Theory (ANT) provides a (post)methodological toolkit and vocabulary sensitive towards the non-human embeddedness of tourist practices, it has to date been used less to elaborate a theoretical understanding of tourism[1]. The same is true for approaches using practice theory (Reckwitz, 2002), which focus on the embodied, multi-sensuous and performative dimensions of tourist practices and spaces (e.g. Coleman and Crang, 2002a; Larsen, 2001), but have difficulty in specifying the tourist particularities of tourist practices.

A closer look at the contemporary literature on tourism reveals that there are still only two basic theoretical models of tourism in the Social Sciences: Dean MacCannell's (1999 [1976]) structuralist theory of the tourist quest for authenticity and John Urry's (1990) postmodernist account of the tourist gaze(s). Apart from these two classics, there are few investigations of equivalent theoretical depth (some exceptions are Franklin, 2003; Pott, 2007). Indeed, most contemporary research relies on the understanding of tourism put forward by these two authors, despite the almost ritual criticisms of certain aspects of their works such as the romanticism of MacCannell's tourist quest or the unidirectionality of Urry's tourist gaze.

While this overview of the contemporary literature is certainly incomplete and somehow pessimistic, it represents a large part of what is being done today. Some authors (e.g. Selby, 2004b) argue that what is lacking are integrated frames to articulate economic,

[1] Actor-Network Theory is, as Latour (1999) famously noted, not a theory, but a method. It proposes an extended or symmetrical semiotic that, as a methodological tool, is compatible with different theoretical perspectives. This dissertation can be seen as an example to this, as it applies ANT to study tourism empirically as a functionally differentiated form of communication.

political and cultural aspects of (urban) tourism to come up with a more balanced view. This is an important direction to take, as it involves coping with disciplinary gaps and, hopefully, bridging them in creative ways. In my view, however, a requisite for such a multidisciplinary dialogue is a more profound disciplinary examination of tourism as the subject matter of sociological and anthropological deliberations. Since such a detailed examination is only possible by means of an active debate, exceeding by far what can be done in the following pages, this thesis seeks to contribute to such a discussion by proposing a different theoretical understanding of tourism and of its relations with cities. The corner stone of this dissertation is a theory of tourism that departs partly from other sociological and anthropological theories of tourism and from that which is usually assumed in most empirical research. It seeks thereby to trigger heated reactions and productive discussions that might eventually change our understanding of what tourism is.

The theoretical premise is that tourism constitutes a specific form of societal communication, upon which mobility experiences are enacted, structured, keyed, experienced, embodied and finally enlivened. This unique communication form, which emerged prior to 1800 in Europe and America, is available throughout world-society, as a sort of ready-made tool to make (tourist) sense of the world and, certainly, of cities. As the concepts of 'communication' and 'world-society' suggest, such an understanding of tourism is based on the theory of society developed by the German sociologist Niklas Luhmann and particularly on two of his central postulates: firstly, the 'basic unit' of the social corresponds to communication (Luhmann, 1995), which is condition for the unfolding of human agency, symbolic structures or hybrid associations; secondly, there is only one world-society, which is primarily functionally differentiated (Luhmann, 1997a; Luhmann, 1997b; Stichweh, 2000), and only secondarily structured by territorial, class, gender or cultural divisions. It is against this background that this thesis posits tourism to be a functionally-differentiated form of societal communication.

I shall briefly point out some of the consequences of this theoretical decision, particularly three ways in which it challenges common notions of tourism. The most crucial aspect is the rejection of understandings of tourism as being primarily a form of travelling. Regardless of how much one might specify the particularities of this tourist travelling, the understanding of tourism as a form of communication suggests that it cannot be reduced to mere physical mobility. This implies therefore a rejection of the popular notion that being a

tourist is a condition that people acquired as a consequence of their displacement away from home. The traditional emphasis on the tourist as the bearer of tourism is thus radically de-centred in the sense that tourist actions, practices and experiences are understood to be an effect of the self-referential reproduction of tourist communication. This approach also makes redundant the quest for external drives that could explain the internal dynamics of tourism, such as desire, alienation, simulacra, or inter-urban competition. Rather, it poses the question about the (tourist) structures that ensure internally the reproduction of tourist communication, such as the assembling of destinations or the attraction of tourist attractions.

The critical reader might conclude at this point that by using Luhmann's theory to rethink tourism, this thesis is another good example of the theoretical crisis in tourism studies, which hitherto have relied mainly on the import of theoretical tools and concepts from alien fields. This might be to a certain extent the case, but my research proposes two further moves that might help to turn tourism studies into a place of theoretical and analytical innovation for the Social Sciences in general. The *first move* concerns mainly Luhmann's social systems theory and its systematic failure to "get down to business"[2]. In order to counteract this difficulty with coping with empirical materials, I draw on Luhmann's notion and theory of communication instead of his notion and theory of autopoietic systems. This substitution has important theoretical consequences, for it implies thinking in terms of what makes communication possible, connectable or redundant instead of looking for system/environment dynamics[3], preserving the notion of systems to designate only one possible configuration that historically forms of communication might take, and positing autopoiesis –i.e. the idea of operatively-closed self-reproduction- for the complete realm of communication only, without assuming that it applies to every form of communication (cfr. Baecker, 2005). Moreover, by empirically looking at the interplay between tourist communication and the city, this investigation seeks to challenge the self-description of Luhmann's theory as a 'systems theory' and, following Jakob Arnoldi's suggestion, to reformulate it in terms closer to a "phenomenology of (tourist) communication" (Arnoldi, Unpublished Paper).

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[2] This was the expression used by the American sociologist Harrison White for criticizing Luhmann and his followers in his key-note lecture for the conference „The Society of he Society: Ten Years After" celebrated at the University of Lucerne, Switzerland, in December 2007.

[3] Luhmann opens his major theoretical work *Social Systems* with the remark: "The following considerations assume that there are systems" (1995: 12)

The focus on communicative structures of tourist sense-making and, particularly, on its performative consequences forces a *second move* that pushes the analysis beyond Luhmann's theory. This thesis is indeed particularly sensitive to theoretical approaches and conceptual innovations that help to describe the various assemblages coupled to and produced by tourist communication. Such assemblages involve virtual objects enacted as a consequence of their thematization in tourist communication, such as destinations or tourist attractions; textual and visual devices mediating tourist communication, such as guidebooks and maps; and complex sociotechnical arrangements of technologies and performances that contribute to the production and maintenance of tourist frames, such as sightseeing bus-tours or walking tours. Such interest in hybrid assemblages coupled to self-referential chains of tourist communication demands the integration of theoretical perspectives and conceptual tools alien to (and hitherto seen as incompatible with) Luhmann's theory of communication. The central theoretical frameworks I refer to here are Gilles Deleuze's multiple ontology, Michel Serres' theories of communication and the parasite, Actor-Network Theory's symmetric semiotic and Erwin Goffmann's frame analysis.

My dissertation seeks to demonstrate that these perspectives are not incompatible and that new and unexpected theoretical insights emerge out of the combination of these approaches. These two moves are, thus, connected with an underlying theoretical agenda that mainly consists of the articulation of Luhmann's theory of communication and ANT; two theoretical understandings of the social hitherto at odds. Interestingly, while both theories share a relational and post-human understanding of the social, they unravel it in radically different ways. While Luhmann's theory favours a strict closure of the social around self-referential communicative processes that do not rely on human intentions, culture or whatsoever, ANT radically opens up the boundaries of the social to symmetrically include material, natural, technological, textual, visual and other non-human elements into the hybrid collective of the social. Despite these differences or, rather, because of them, each of them lacks of conceptual tools to understand processes and phenomena that the other can describe much more accurately.

In his key-note lecture to the British Sociological Association, Bruno Latour (2007), suggested that particular aspects of Luhmann's theory could be helpful to 'colour up' the black and white descriptions of ANT. He suggested that while ANT has been successful in describing hybrid associations, this left open the question of whether there are specific types

of associations, such as economic, political or artistic ones. In my view, Latour's suggestion of reinforcing one theory by adding on particular concepts or distinctive points of the other is not the way to go. The concept of associations cannot be reframed in terms of the problem of functional differentiation, for it has been shaped to reflect on another kind of problem and on another kind of boundaries, namely, those separating the social from the natural, the technological, and the material (cfr. Reckwitz, 2004). Even when economic, scientific or artistic associations might be described in distinct ways, association theory is still incapable of explaining why or for what functional differentiation takes place (cfr. Latour, 2005b). The alternative is, in my view, articulating both approaches as complementary dimensions supplementing each other, not attempting to fuse them.

In a sense, the kind of articulation that this dissertation strives for, is reminiscent of the old Parsonian distinction (still influential in the U.S.) between culture and society, in the sense that the study of hybrid assemblages and of communication forms can run parallel to each other and illuminate each other's blind spots. Moreover, while hybrid assemblages might provide a new understanding of the cultural, substituting an ontological emphasis on hybrid entities partaking of the social for the normative emphasis of symbols regulating action, communication forms might provide a new sense of the social, highlighting the unpredictability of its eigen-dynamics over structural or agency-based understandings. In any case, the analogy with the culture/society distinction should only provide a sense of the kind of articulation between assemblage and communication theory put into practice.

Hitherto less has been said about the precise way in which tourist communication is understood. This becomes clear as the thesis unfolds, but, as the following introductory section shows, the argument that tourism is a functionally-differentiated form of communication relies on a reflection about its historical emergence and necessity. It is a historicist perspective on the kind of problem tourist communication attempts to counteract and on the basic communicative schemas necessary for doing that, what defines tourism underlying the main research questions and, thereby, the whole structure of this thesis.

1.2. Touring Destinations and the Incompatibility of Leisure and Travel

There is a broad consensus in tourism research that a radical transformation in the meaning of travel took place in the first half of the 19th century, a transformation that led to the rise of

modern tourism. This is clear from the question posed by Hans M. Enzensberger more than 50 years ago, "People have always travelled – hence, how do we justify historically isolating something called tourism from something that has always existed, as if it were something unique?" (1996: 122). His own response is that the rise of modern tourism involves the transformation of travel into an end in itself. Thus, the uniqueness of tourism derives from its autonomy from the external needs and purposes that make travel necessary.

Such an understanding proves useful to distinguish the figure of the tourist from other historical figures closely associated with travel. For merchants and pilgrims, for example, travel is an unavoidable consequence of their economic, commercial, religious and spiritual activities and aims. Travel is undertaken even though it represents a risky enterprise through dangerous natural and social spaces (Sennett, 1993; Urbain, 1993). Similarly, the tours undertaken by young cavaliers in the late Middle Age around foreign courts and the Grand Tours of young members of the European elites in the 17th and 18th centuries around the capitals of continental Europe were subordinated to both educational and socio-political purposes (Enzensberger, 1996; Turner and Ash, 1991).

For the modern tourist, in contrast, travel is an end in itself being a pleasurable activity performed for the sake of itself. Towards the end of the 18th century the Grand Tour took on this form. Travellers shortened their travels and visits started to follow pre-established routes and routines. Their interest in the language, history and culture of the host countries decreased, and their contacts with local populations were reduced to those offering travel-related services (Towner, 1985). It was, thus, the transformation of these Grand Tours into a pleasurable end in itself and the expansion of leisure travel that led in 1800 to the entrance of the word 'tourist' into English dictionaries to designate "a person who makes a tour, specially for pleasure" (Boorstin, 1987: 85), and later on, in 1811, to the appearance of the word tourism.

In the relevant literature, the origins of tourism have been contextualized in broader technological, organizational and socio-cultural transformations occurring since the mid-18th century. One central condition for the development of tourism was the creation and spread of new technologies of transport and communication, such as trains or passenger steam-ships, increasing what different authors have described as a time-space compression (Harvey, 1989; Kaschuba, 2004; Lash and Urry, 1994). However, the historical rise of tourism was not a

blindly technological-driven process, as these and others researchers show. New transportation technologies needed corresponding organizational transformations in travel to make modern tourism possible (Lash and Urry, 1994). Even though the tourist appropriation of new transport technologies was very fast, tourism has also ensured the survival of old, slow and functionally inefficient transport technologies (Urbain, 1993). The rise of modern tourism was based on the emergence of a new topography of transportation routes and destinations that produced new time-space orderings and images, and permitted pre-experiencing destinations and stabilizing expectations (Kaschuba, 2004). This transformation in the modes of (visual) perception was also mediated by the democratization of the photographic camera, which radically transformed the relation between the photographer and its objects (Larsen, 2005; Urry and Crawshaw, 1997), and by the emergence of new urban spaces, where dynamics of seeing and being seen predominated and new figures such as the *flaneur* were constituted (Urry, 1999). Perhaps the most crucial transformation enabling tourism was the consolidation of the modern nation-state. This not only ensured the availability and reliability of transportation and communication systems, but also produced new national orderings, determining what was interesting, relevant and exciting in the modern age (Franklin, 2004).

In my view, with the historical transformations mentioned above occurs something that Enzensberger recognized very early, namely that they "leave open the question of which of these components is to be considered the 'ultimate cause'" (1996: 124). While it is probably illusory to speak of ultimate causes of tourism, posing the questions *what for* did tourist communication arise in modern society, not just how or in which context, is one way of sharpening the focus on those societal configurations that triggered its emergence.

This method of questioning is associated with a functional method of analysis (Luhmann, 1995: 52 ff.), which even though it is based on a problem-solution schema, it needs to be distinguished from standard causal analyses in two central regards. Problems, which are identified as causes triggering societal transformations, are understood as *ex post* results, and not given *a priori* to the solutions they activate. Luhmann speaks here of 'reference problems' (cfr. Esposito, 2004), for in order to exist, these problems need to be first identified and then selected by the new forms of societal communication that emerge as solutions. It is, for example, neoclassical economy and markets that constitute scarcity as its reference problem and not inversely. This perspective also neglects the necessity of effects.

Far from being necessary or self-evident, solutions are understood to be contingent and exchangeable. This entails a radical comparative approach:

> "the functional method is a comparative one […] it relates something to a viewpoint on a problem in order to be able to relate this to other problem solutions. Accordingly, "functional explanation" can be nothing other than the ascertainment (in general) and exclusion (in particular) of functional equivalents" (Luhmann, 1995: 54).

Such a perspective, I suggest, permits approaching the 'ultimate cause' of modern tourism by identifying the reference problem selected and specified by tourist communication and comparing the kind of solution provided by tourism with alternative solutions that cover aspects of the same reference problem, such as culture or recreation.

It must be first noted that the rise of tourism brought together two phenomena, leisure and travel, which had separately been transforming Europe since its early modernity, this is since the 15th century. The expansion of geographical and historical societal horizons, whose origins can be set at 1492 at the latest, occurred as a consequence of the time-space compression produced by new transport and communication technologies. Travel took place for many centuries without any particular relationship to leisure. Similarly, the emergence of a European leisure system can be dated to the 16th century. This is the thesis of Peter Burke (1995), for whom the idea that around 1850 a historical break separates a new European 'leisure culture' from a prior 'festival culture' needs some major revision. Interestingly, the historical sources he cites document discussions about the place of leisure and recreation in educational processes, legal and political debates about the uses of recreation, the theological-moral distinction between *ozio vile* and *ozio onesto,* and essays on the positive consequences of leisure for physical and psychological health. No references are made to travel as leisure. Neither the subsequent rationalization and moralization of leisure resulted in a specific association of leisure with travel.[4]

[4] In Victorian England, for example, leisure was transformed into re-Creation and as such strategically organized to reach the social fabric at different scales: the self, the family, the working population and the nation as a whole. This involved the transformation of Sundays from a day of Christian retirement into a day of intense and routine leisure activity, the introduction of recreation grounds as places of organized physical team activity, the rise of urban parks as places of controlled escape from society and work alienation, and even the transformation of the micro-topography of the homes with the distinction between areas for everyday family life and areas for more ritualized recreation (see Billinge 1996).

On that basis, it seems that the fusion of leisure and travel into one phenomenon by the turn of the 19th century constitutes a rather late event, which was mediated and reinforced by the emergence of tourist communicative arrangements. In other words, it seems that tourist communication emerged precisely to counteract and solve a problem that became more and more salient as mobility patterns in European society dramatically increased, namely, the incompatibility of leisure and travel.

Understanding the origins of tourism in terms of the improbable intersection of travel and leisure is crucial, for one-sided emphases on mobility overlook how tourism is oriented to overcome an obstacle greater than geographical distance, namely, ensuring that the idea of spending leisure time in travel made sense. Even today, this seems to be the central issue confronted by tourism. This is, for example, the central question posed by the Canadian anthropologist Julia Harrison in her study of contemporary 'travel enthusiasts',

> […] the idea of the journey, the metaphor of voyage, the idiom of exploration, and the separation of home from away […] can account for only a small part of the explosion in the second half of the twentieth century of the idea of ravel as a meaningful way to spend one's leisure time. […] Why choose travel, often waiting interminably in airports to board agonizingly long flights, just to encounter the officiousness of border personnel? Upon arrival the traveller has to struggle with bodily disorientation from time changes, to eat strange new foods, and to endure being silenced or embarrassed due to language and cultural barriers" (Harrison, 2003: 26-27).

Dirk Baecker's (2005) enumeration of sources of noise and interference in tourist communication also makes the same point. Tourists are confronted by uncomfortable beds, bad food, scaffold monuments, contaminated beaches, rude reactions of locals, hostile hosts, boring animators, terrorist attacks, and loud masses of tourists, but somehow, he observes, tourist communication persists.

The almost contradictory character of leisure travel can be found by looking at the origins of both words. According to the Oxford English Dictionary the word 'travel' meant in the 12th century: "Labour, toil; suffering, trouble; labour of child-birth, etc."[5] Its etymological origins are the same as 'travail':

> "Middle English, from Old French, from *travailler*, to work hard, from Vulgar Latin **tripāliāre*, to torture with a *tripalium*, from Late Latin *tripālium*, instrument of torture, probably from Latin *tripālis*, having three stakes: *tri-*, tri-

[5] Entry 'Travel'. Oxford English Dictionary, available on-line under www.oed.com. Access: July 18, 2007.

+ *pālus*, stake"[6].

In a nutshell, travel is torture; an old meaning that even today some people argue that they experience. The Online Etymology Dictionary indicates that in the sense of 'to journey' the word appeared first towards the end of the 14th century and suggests that this semantic development probably occurred with the notion of 'going on a difficult journey'[7]. This is a logical suggestion given the conditions of travel in early modern Europe. By the same time, the notion of leisure indicated an 'opportunity to do something' and also 'time at one's disposal', an opportunity and time that certainly no one in the 14th century would have ever wished to spend on difficult journeys. The word comes from the Old French *leisir*, which means permission, spare time and to be permitted, and derives from the Latin *licere*, root also of the word license. The *Online Etymology Dictionary* also argues that the 'u' in leisure (originally *leisir*) appeared in the 16th century, probably as an analogy to the word pleasure. Even though etymological analysis, like statistics, can be oriented in certain directions, these etymologies clearly show that 'leisure travel' put together phenomena that had separate stories for a long time.

An interesting example of the distance between travel and leisure is documented by Catherine Cocks in her study of the rise of urban tourism in American cities. She shows that until the 1870's no clear distinction was made "between strangers who had come to settle in a city and visitors passing a few days or weeks there" (2001: 10). She speaks of 'the impossibility of tourism in American cities' precisely to refer to this incompatibility of travel and leisure in the urban context. Even though pleasure travel -the concept she uses- was known to American elites, it was primarily associated with travelling to Europe and visiting natural wonders. Cities were starting and ending points of tourism, not places to spend leisure time. Moreover, city officials saw in leisured transient populations a big danger. The reason mentioned in one of her sources in 1869 was that "as they are thrown together with a comparative freedom from restraint, […] the usual consequences of such promiscuous intercourse follow" (Cocks, 2001: 17). Since urban public leisure was seen as 'the parent of mischief', city administrators' main goal was "to incorporate the visitor into the local sociospatial order, not to entertain or awe the beauty-seeking tourist" (Cocks, 2001: 23). Yet, despite all this, there were visitors to American cities that did go sightseeing. However, the

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[6] Entry 'Travail'. The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language, available on-line under www.wordreference.com. Access: July 18, 2007.

[7] Available on-line under www.wordreference.com. Access: July 18, 2007.

decisive point made by Cocks is that while sightseeing excursions might have been a pleasant activity, their purpose was rather to see how their society was working and changing and not undertaken for pleasure.

A similar situation can be observed in Germany by 1800, where the rise of travel among bourgeois groups is shaped as an exploration of modernity, foreign culture and civilization, and "above all the pulsating modern life of the European metropolis" (Kaschuba, 1991: 29).[i] Kaschuba's research on early 19th century German travel shows that travel –and this meant, above all, educational, business, medical, and ethnographic travel- became a central means for gathering experiences, reflecting and communicating about society at large, especially in terms of the opposition between the 'narrow German conditions' and the modern outer world of the bourgeois revolutions. Travel offered the new German bourgeois groups a way to experience the world and to form expectations about home, away and particularly about the own future. Travel involved thus practices of societal comparison based on technology, politics, science, literature, arts, and everyday life. Rather than leisure travel performed for the sake of it, travel fulfilled major social and cultural functions:

> "The seeing, the description, and the classification of the new things and images render the travel into a bourgeois school for the gaze. Gazes are practised: the historical gaze, the economic-balancing gaze, the civilizatory-technical gaze, the ethnographic gaze" (Kaschuba, 1991: 36).[ii]

It is not a specific tourist gaze that defines German travel by 1800. Travel is rather one of the most salient ways in which culture, understood as a perspective and a practice of comparison, started to emerge. In his attempt to define 'culture' as a historical concept, Luhmann (1999) points precisely to the new perspectives for comparison along historical and geographical horizons that had expanded throughout Europe in the 18th century.

> "Culture is […] a world-project that involves both history and regional ("national") differences as material for comparisons. Through the concept of culture, the concept of nation is revaluated, even created in its modern emphasis. And only from this perspective culture appears as something that has always existed […]" (Luhmann 1999: 41).[iii]

Luhmann describes the historical emergence of culture by pointing to new concepts used for comparison, such as that of *Witz* by Jean Paul, transformations in the way history was taught, the increasing interest in foreign languages or in discussions about taste, and major philosophical transformations associated with Romanticism, such as the 'different' philosophy of history of Herder. Kaschuba's description of the state of German travel by 1800 explains how these still abstract *perspectives* for comparison are transformed into social

practices of comparisons helping larger bourgeois groups to make sense of home and away, the self and the world, the past, the present and the future, the 'Us' and the 'Others'. Travel was thus about culture, knowledge, civilization, and comparison, not about leisure or "licence for permissive and playful 'non-serious' behaviour" (Urry, 1990: 10).

Such traditions of travel became a major source of resistance to the expansion of tourism, as during the 19th century the incompatibility of leisure and travel began to be bridged by the emergence of tourist communication. This occurred through the emergence of a pervasive opposition between 'travellers' and 'tourists', which today still sometimes feeds critique, disdain and irony against tourism. The history of such distinction, reconstructed in detail by Jean-Didier Urbain (1993), is at the basis of the stereotype of the tourist as a bad traveller. Compared to the traveller, the tourist is presented as a superficial and hedonist figure travelling for the sake of it, privileging image and spectacle over language and dialogue, and rushing up through the largest possible number of places, cities, landscapes, and monuments to collect pictures and fake reproductions. Urbain suggests that one of the most powerful tools for this disdain has been the language, definitions and metaphors used in travel literature, essays and even in the Social Sciences. It provides animal metaphors that range from the idea of a docile flock of sheep to the image of a voracious pack of hounds, pathological images alternating between virus, madness and illness, economic descriptions of the tourists as a commodity transported and exchanged, and contemporary images of tourist flows and tourist boom. These all help in different ways to reproduce this opposition that sustains the modern myths of travel as an exclusive and heroic activity and of the traveller as a serious and respectful observer, and even discoverer, of the real world.[8]

In definitive, spending leisure time in travel was a challenge waiting for much more than technical innovation or the development of hospitality industries to occur. I would argue that tourism can still today be understood as a sense-making process ultimately oriented to counteract and make probable what which was seen, if not as nonsense and impossible, then as mediocre, namely, leisure travel. This interpretation of the reference problem of tourism is unusual, since it rejects the more common and conciliatory focus on the overlappings between culture, recreation and tourism. Such a focus prompts, for example, the German geographer

[8] Interestingly, this disdain for leisure travel, tourists and tourism was absent in early 19th century. As late as 1838, Stendahl would show no shame in publishing his *Memoires d'un touriste* and declaring travelling for pleasure: 'I travel, not to know Italy, but for the sake of it' (in Urbain 1993, transl. IF).

Andreas Pott (2005; 2007: 147 ff.) to question whether and how recreation is possible in cultural tourism. Pott's original answer suggests that in the case of urban tourism recreation is provided by the stimulation of the senses, which occurs by practices of cultural comparison of objects, buildings, foods, temporalities, urban rhythms, histories, customs, peoples, urban flairs, and other aspects of city life. In a nutshell: ""recreation" in or through culture" (Pott, 2005: 307, transl. IF).[iv]

My research focuses on tourism as a phenomenon in its own right, which even though it emerged to counteract the incompatibility of leisure and travel, it does not represent an intermediate point between recreation and culture. John Urry's (1990) distinction between a romantic gaze oriented to cultural authenticity and a collective gaze oriented to recreation is a case in point, for while it makes evident the connection with culture and recreation, it understands both as *tourist* modes of gaze. Consequently, if one argues that cultural and recreational schemas alone are incapable of making sense of leisure travel, then the question that needs to be posed is what kind of structures and schemas orientate tourist communication.

While functional analyses help to understand *what for* new communicative arrangements might emerge, they cannot explain their tendency towards differentiation. Luhmann (1987) points here to the central role played by *distinctions directrices*, which he contrasts to the *idées directrices* of the French tradition of historiography. The added value of *distinctions directrices*, argues Luhmann, is that they reflect a binary code, which is used socially to process information and to reproduce communication in certain directions. Semantic historical distinctions can therefore be understood as binary codes, such as 'truth/not truth' in scientific communication, 'legal/illegal' in juristic communication, 'having/not-having' (first property, then money) and correspondingly 'paying/not-paying' in economic communication, 'information/no-information' in mass media communication, 'adequateness/inadequateness of selected forms' in artistic communication, or 'exerting power/being subject to power' and correspondingly 'government/opposition' in political communication. The ability of such distinctions to underpin differentiation is based on how they enable a form of second order observation. Social phenomena are thus observed in terms of specific distinctions (is it truth or not truth, is it legal or illegal?), despite their internal complexity. Differentiation occurs to the extent that the use of a distinction produces a

specific virtual realms of contingency (the scientific field, the legal field) within which the *distinction directrice* makes sense.

Common distinctions in tourism studies, such as home/away or everydayness/ extraordinariness, do not fulfil all the requisites of *distinctions directrices*, not just because of their fuzziness (see Ch. 5), but also because they include too much to produce a specific tourist realm of contingency. The same is true for distinctions such as recreational/not-recreational or worth-travelling/not-worth-travelling (Pott, 2007: 98f). Rather it is necessary to think in terms of a *distinction directrice* that could articulate relationships between elements and possibilities of action and communication *within* a tourist field, just as paying/not-paying, whether in the form of consumption or investment, defines the most basic alternative articulating the economic field. One alternative recently suggested to me was that tourist communication is articulated by the distinction 'having-been-there/staying-here'. The hypothesis is certainly much more positive than the usual rejection of the possibility of a tourist code (García Osorio, 2000; Pott, 2007), but it does not explain the reproduction of tourist communication, for having-been-there designate an *ex-post* ascertainment and staying-here a non-tourist state. Reformulating this distinction as 'being-there/staying-here' does not help either, for exactly the same reasons that home/away or worth-travelling/not-worth-travelling have been rejected.

The identification of *distinction directrices* is not a question of ingenious deliberations, but of empirical and historical materials. Concrete examples, such as the advertisements promoting cheap flights to Thailand that were to be seen in Berlin in early 2008, can help to understand the kind of alternative articulating and structuring in the tourist field: "There are 236 temples there. I go to the beach. Berlin – Bangkok from 229 €".[v] The advertisement reflects a very common distinction between two basic forms of engaging with leisure travel. These can be understood with the notions of touring and vacationing.

This distinction has been highlighted by Jean Didier Urbain in *At the Beach* (2003), where he traces a sharp distinction between the residential vacationer (*villégiauter*) and the tourist. The vacationer, he suggests, is a sort of modern Robinson Crusoe, who travels just to stay in one place, where he can find repose. This is particularly true for the seaside, the location of immobility par excellence. The tourist, in contrast, moves constantly from one destination to the next, in the state of temporary nomadism that characterized Phileas Phogg

in ‘Around the World in Eighty Days’. Perhaps the most crucial difference between these two figures is that the residential vacationer is not someone seeking difference, but sameness, refuge and repose. In his history of the beach, Urbain shows precisely how sea bathers rendered the beaches into universes of routine, repetition and familiarity, where they were able to reconnect with themselves, their bodies and their fellow vacationers (see Dann, 2004). In the words of a reviewer, Urbain makes evident that “collapsing the residential vacation within the broad category of tourism hides the meanings of this decidedly sedentary collection of cultural practices that occur on and reproduce the beach” (Hanna, 2005: 355).

Touring and vacationing constitutes thus a historically relevant *distinction directrice*, which defines two major ways of coping with leisure travel. Its centrality can also be read in Orvar Löfgren’s acclaimed book *On Holiday: A History of Vacationing* (1999), where he elaborates on the contrast between Phileas Fogg and Robinson Crusoe sketched by Jean-Didier Urbain. Löfgren argues that tourism research has focused primarily on the ardent and hurried traveller in search of new sights, represented by the male, middle class figure of Phileas Fogg. The first part of his book explores precisely the landscapes and mindscapes of this form of tourism with its obsession with a quest for new sights, with being on the move and with the narratives and stories of the destinations. But Löfgren is interested in a more comprehensive history; a history apart from the agitated tours of Phileas Fogg which includes “another important tradition, whose literary model would rather be the Robinsonian desire ‘to get away from it all’ – to find an unspoiled corner of the world, to relax and build up an alternative life” (Löfgren, 1999: 9). The second part of his book explores precisely this quest for getaways and ‘elsewherelands’ that is the basis of quite different vacation worlds such as the cottage cultures of Scandinavia and North America and resort tourism in the Mediterranean.[9]

[9] Urbain’s and Löfgren’s books also show that the distinction between touring and vacationing is a contingent historical product. Indeed, tourist communication could have become something quite different, if for example the distinction between the traveller and the tourist would have proved capable of introducing ‘fertile differences’ for the organisation of tourism. While a certain disdain for the tourist persists even today in social discourses and travel narratives, the traveller/tourist opposition has been sociologically defeated by the distinction between touring and vacationing, which is closer to the experiences of larger populations and more flexible to be fulfilled in different ways by historical, national or class-specific circumstances.

If the *distinction directrice* touring/vacationing is to be considered a binary code articulating tourist communication, it is then necessary to devoid it from the sense that it describes two types of travel or two types of historical subjects. Even though it is certainly possible to observe tourists and vacationers, as well as landscapes of vacationing and of tourism, avoiding a reification of these is necessary to see them as interrelated modes of tourist sense-making and communication. Just as paying and not-paying are not associated with people, but define an economic dynamic articulating events and operations, touring and vacationing define a dynamic that can be enacted by the same people at the same destinations. In the case of cities, for example, it becomes evident that touring does not monopolize urban tourism, which can also be about immobility, sameness, repose and other values characteristic of vacationing. On the other hand, touring the natural landscapes and historical towns surrounding the place of vacation are common practices that interrupt and supplement the universes of sameness and repetition of vacation cultures in second homes (cfr. Haldrup, 2004).

Interestingly, the relationship between touring and vacationing is not symmetrical. Its asymmetry derives from the fact that while vacationing is not constituted by reference to touring, touring does involve vacationing. The first aspect has been already pointed out in reference to Urbain's study of the beach, which shows that subsuming vacations to the category of tourism hides its uniqueness and specificity. It is indeed evident that the need for vacations or the notion that 'we cannot properly vacation at home' (Graburn, 1995) does not suffice to prompt touring practices. Vacations imply undertaking travel for recreational ends, but travel remains a means for getting to the destination where recreation and repose takes place. Thus, even though vacationing opens up a field where touring practices and tourist communication could take place, it does not in any sense foster tourism.

Touring practices, on the contrary, are constituted by reference to vacationing. This is perhaps what led Urbain to argue that tourism should be understood as a subcategory of vacationing. However, if one thinks in terms of communicative codes instead of Aristotelian species and subspecies, then the fact that touring refers to vacationing means that touring opens up fields of practice, where a reflection on its own difference from vacationing is possible. The English saying 'a change is as good as a rest' is a starting point to think about this, for it suggests that even though tourism might involve hard work, it becomes a sort of functional equivalent for vacations. At the same time, the need for 'vacations from vacations',

as another saying goes, shows also how the negative value of the code, 'vacationing', is reflexively reintroduced into the space of touring.

This asymmetry suggests that while touring/vacationing can become a binary code for the unfolding of tourist communication, it is less relevant for the construction of vacation worlds. It also suggests that a clear preference for touring over vacationing is inscribed in the code. This preference could be discussed in terms of an '*englobement contraire*' (Dumont, 1987). Following the French anthropologist, every opposition (say touring/vacationing) entails a hierarchical relationship between the terms (touring over vacationing), which is given by the relation each part maintains with a given totality (tourism in this case). The code of preference touring/vacationing, however, does not entail such a hierarchical connotation, because rather than referring to both terms as a superior unity, it reintroduces the difference between both terms into the space of one of them. Touring represents thus a form of dealing with leisure travel that includes and redefines vacationing. Thus, while touring involves the continuous production of new associations and communications, the rolling-out of tourism, vacationing introduces a moment of reflection, stopping the pull of tourist communication and questioning its assumptions. Touring thus enables a form of recursive communication, which would not be possible in the space of vacations.

At the core of this conception of tourism is the notion of 'touring', which is to be understood in the transitive form of the verb to tour as in 'to travel through a place' or 'to guide someone on a tour'. This emphasizes that tourism is a communicative practice that needs to be initiated and performed and rejects the equation of tourism with a condition or state of being. The focus on touring entails also a focus on movement and displacement and includes both movement to and movement at a given destination. The notion of touring is indeed abstract enough to include any kinds of movements or displacements, from travels around the world to travels around the corner. This wide scope suggests that although it involves movement, the enactment of tourism is more a question of communicative dynamics than of physical displacement. Similarly, the notion of touring is not restricted to particular kinds of objects, such as tourist attractions, but is broad enough to be enacted in relation to any kind of objects, places or peoples. These undertones suggest that while the specificity of the notion of touring allows the differentiation of tourist communication, its abstraction ensures the cognitive openness of tourism towards the world.

This capacity to duplicate the world, transforming every possible movement into a touring practice and every single element into a potential object of tourist communication does not imply, however, that there are no criteria for defining how and what to tour. Indeed, while the code provides a very abstract structure for the unfolding of tourist communication, tourism has specific sets of rules and conditions for the regulation and anticipation of what counts as touring and what is worth touring. These sets of rules and conditions, which Luhmann would call programs, are historically and socially contingent, like the tourist gazes described by John Urry: "There is no single tourist gaze as such. It varies by society, by social group and by historical period" (1990: 1). Since they are connected with particular sets of practices, activities and criteria for defining touring practices and tourist objects, the romantic, collective and post-modern tourist gazes can be understood as programs of tourism.[10] The notion of touring seems, however, much more adaptable for the description of different tourist programs, for it not only suggests the visual aspect of tourism highlighted by the notion of gazing, but also a corporeal, multi-sensorial and embodied practice.

This notion of tourism implies focusing on the process of touring destinations, which is understood to be a communicative elaboration on a form of physical mobility aimed to convey feelings and knowledge. I follow here a distinction made by Tom Selwyn between two aspects of tourism, "one which has to do with feeling, the other with knowledge" (Selwyn 1996: 7).[11] It is important to note that feelings and knowledge are not just associated with the destination, its identity, space and other features, but also with the very process of touring. This is also pointed out by Bruner, who argues that "there are two ethnographies of travel, one of performances in the destination culture, and a second of the travelling unit, which may be conceptualized as its own site of cultural production, a performance in itself" (Bruner, 2005: 17). The title of this thesis, *Touring Berlin*, emphasizes precisely these two complementary

[10] The programs of tourism have become a central issue in tourism research through the focus on further variations of the tourist gaze, such as the family gaze (Haldrup & Larsen 2003), the questioning gaze (Bruner 2005) or the second gaze (MacCannell 2001). From this perspective, it could be argued that one of the biggest mistakes of Dean MacCannell's theory of tourism was confusing one particular historical program with its code. MacCannell's suggestion that tourism consists essentially in a quest for object-related authenticity overlooks that tourism is structured by different programs valid for different people in different times at different places.

[11] Selwyn description of these two elements is trapped in the alienation-authenticity model established by MacCannell. He associates thus feelings and knowledge with two forms of authenticity: hot and cold authenticity.

dimensions of my research. The following chapters contain qualitative analysis and ethnographic descriptions of the destination Berlin and of the touring process.

1.3. Research Design: Strategies for Entering and Leaving Urban Tourism Research

The theoretical agenda and the notion of tourism as delineated above pose great challenges for empirical research. While some of these theoretical discussions go beyond the realms of the empirically attestable, the empirical scrutiny of tourist phenomena opens up complex relationships and configurations that also go beyond the theoretical arguments being made. This reciprocal incommensurability proves the idea that research designs can successfully articulate theoretical and empirical interests to be an ideal. It seems to me therefore more illuminating to betray the 'unspoken pact of social sciences' on the necessity of making intellectual and rhetorical efforts to present research designs as smoothly bridging the gap between theory and empirical research and to focus on the way the research design for this dissertation copes with the underlying gaps and asymmetries.

Asymmetries between theory and empirical research are unavoidable. Luhmann (1990) describes theory and methods as two programs of science, which cannot decide on the correctness or incorrectness of scientific elaborations independently from each other. Communication needs therefore to always combine both programs to be treated as scientific. However, it is the irreducible difference between theory and method, not its unity, that Luhmann describes as the aim of such a combination. While theories are programs oriented to the production of abstract perspectives for comparison that enable complex descriptions, methods are oriented to the production and attribution of truth and falseness. Science, argues Luhmann, occurs neither at the level of theory nor at the level of methods, but in-between:

> "This possibility of a displacement in the emphasis between theory and methods does not contradict the thesis that the science-system must use both programs. For only through the difference of theory and methods, which is not reducible to either a last theory or to a reliable method […], the system gains that scope, in which it can look for and eventually find eigen-values" (Luhmann, 1990: 428-429).[vi]

I briefly recall these ideas, for they might shed new light on the following reflections. Indeed, if there is a structural insurmountable gap separating theoretical and empirical

research, a reasonable aim to strive for is a modest articulation of theoretical elaboration and qualitative and ethnographical descriptions. Such articulation should be understood in a minimalist way as a juxtaposition of theoretical and empirical materials, which might eventually lead to unexpected insights, and not as an attempt to produce a unique result or final synthesis of both types of materials. Consequently, the following reflections on unit of analysis, research question, research field, and fieldwork experiences seek only to show how these unavoidable asymmetries were explored in creative ways, but not overcome.

1.3.1. Unit of Analysis: The Unobservability of Tourist Communication

Essentially, this thesis investigates tourist communication and deals therefore with the problem of its unobservability. As it is well known, Luhmann (1995) rejects the understanding of communication in terms of the sender-message-receiver model, which he believes focuses too much on the abilities of the sender, exaggerates the identity of what is transmitted, and overlooks the active role of the receptor in selecting an understanding. He proposes instead starting with the notion of 'sense' [*Sinn*][12] and conceives communication as a continuous processing of sense based on a triple selection of information, act-of-expression[13] and understanding[14]. Since this process occurs in a third space between individuals, communication should be irreducible to both intentional acts and linguistic acts. The most central feature of communication is rather basal self-referentiality, "the fact that the process must be composed of elements (events) that refer to themselves by including their connection with other elements of the same process" (Luhmann, 1995: 144).

Such understanding has enormous epistemological and methodological consequences for the study of communication, for, as Luhmann concludes:

"[t]he most important consequence of this analysis is *that communication*

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[12] Luhmann writes about *Sinn*, which I translate as 'sense'. The English edition of *Soziale Systeme* (1995) chooses 'meaning', but 'meaning' means *Bedeutung*, not *Sinn*.

[13] I follow the Spanish translator of *Die Gesellschaft der Gesellschaft* (1997a) for the translation of *Mitteilung* with the neologism 'act-of-expression' (2007). The English edition of *Soziale Systeme* (1995) translates *Mitteilung* with the concept of utterance, which I leave aside for it designates linguistic act-of-expressions only. *Mitteilungen*, or act-of-expressions, might also involve other mediums besides language, such as the body or the material.

[14] The notion of understanding needs to be understood carefully, for it only designates the observation of a difference between information and act-of-expression. Understanding does not involve agreement or a sympathetic observation. It includes indeed all kind of misunderstandings, negations and conflicts.

> *cannot be observed directly, only inferred*. To be observed or to observe itself – he continues-, a communication system must be flagged as an action system" (1995: 164).

Communication can only be indicated and broken down by means of further communication that attributes information, act-of-expressions or comprehensions to the actions or experiences of certain actors. Communication is thus dissected into actions and experiences, which are ascribed to different social addressees, such as a hero, a neighbour, the masses, a multinational, a pet or the State. Luhmann describes this as a process of asymmetrization that makes communication, an otherwise a symmetric and unobservable phenomenon, observable. This asymmetrization produces thus a paradox of observation that underlies the multiple case-studies behind this thesis. While one of the central aims of understanding tourism as communication is overcoming notions of tourism based on the motivations and agency of individuals, tourist communication can only be observed through actions, practices and experiences of individuals.

The symmetry of communication is not only broken down into actions, but is also steered by themes that outlive and organize it: "[T]hemes serve as factual/temporal/social structures within the communication process" (Luhmann, 1995: 157). They reduce the complexity opened by language, define criteria for action, behaviour and contributions, organize the time and rhythm of communication, and permit a rapid orientation of one's own contributions and evaluate the appropriateness of others' contributions. Indeed, by regulating 'who can contribute what', thematic nexuses discriminate contributions and thereby contributors. The steering capacities of themes are such that Luhmann suggests that the classic understanding of culture as normative orientation could be more precisely understood as "a supply of possible themes that is available for quick and readily understandable reception in concrete communicative processes" (Luhmann, 1995: 163). The thematic and, more generally, semantic organization of communication constitutes thus a second important way to indirectly observe tourist communication. This, however, is also problematic, or at least ironic, for while communication theory was invoked to understand tourism as a sense-making process, the focus on thematic nexuses sacrifices in part the processual aspect of communication.

A research design based on such indirect indexes (actions and themes) is condemned thus to the study of *traces* of tourist communication. This poses the question about the kind of traces that might need to be looked for. Unequivocal traces of tourist communication are less

evident than in other kinds of communication. While legal bodies and judicial processes constitute enormous archives for observing the eigen-dynamics of juridical communication, tourist communication is not documented to a great extent. Touring practices are similarly,so enmeshed with other kinds of practices that they are also difficult to observe in a distinctive way. Still, there are at least two main types of traces of tourist communication: 'structured touring practices', which involve different types of guided tours, and 'textual and visual devices of tourism', such as tourist guidebooks and maps. These kinds of traces also permit the use of standard research methods, such as ethnography and discourse analysis, which however do need to be slightly reframed.

It is a very particular kind of ethnographic fieldwork that tourist communication calls for. Ethnographies are commonly made by following and accompanying persons or groups of persons through the situational flow of their everyday lives. A central requisite is therefore the acquaintance and trust of the individuals under study. The problem of access is in such contexts, mainly about 'being allowed' to carry out the investigation and about rightly interpreting the eventual obstacles to that access (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2001).

While ethnographies of tourism might prove useful to understand the motives, conflicts or identities of the individuals partaking of tourism (tourists, tour-guides, hosts and locals) they are less appropriate for providing access to the flow of tourist communication. This requires an analytical approach, not a holistic one, which poses concrete and theoretically informed questions and is not intended to be submerged in the life-stories, motivations, opinions, images or intentions of the different actors. Tourists, tour-guides and other individuals partaking of tourist situations function as a point of passage to look at how tourist communication is enacted in specific situations and how it is distributed as actions or experiences of different individuals.

A very particular kind of textual and visual semiotic is required; a semiotic that in some respects resembles Foucault's archaeologies of knowledge. Indeed, quite close to Luhmann's understanding of thematic nexuses, Foucault emphasizes the anonymity and autonomy of discursive formations, which he argues cannot be reduced to particular individuals. "What counts in the things said by men is not so much what they may have thought or the extent to which these things represent their thoughts, as that which systematizes them from the outset" (Foucault, 1973: xix). Correspondingly, research on the

textual and visual contents inscribed in tourist guidebooks or maps and the analysis of interviews with tourists or tour-guides should focus on their internal systematicity rather than on the *habitus*, motives or intentions of its various authors and receptors. The central units of analysis are thus not sentences, meanings or intentions, but the regularities of these discursive formations, which Foucault called 'episteme', 'savoir' or 'depth-knowledge'. These define what is true and false, possible and impossible, and play a central role in the process of 'making up people' (Hacking, 2002).

While thematic nexuses can have equivalent steering capacities, they do not reveal a 'historical a-priori' upon which action takes place and people are made up. Thematic nexuses might be rather considered as a catalyst structuring in the present the flow of communication. Consequently, a semiotics of tourist communication departs from Foucault's archaeology in two central aspects: first, the emphasis is not on the historical origins of semantic structures, but on the ways in which they steer communication in the present and, second, the analytical scope does not includes society at large, but local phenomena, such as the unfolding of tourist communication on, in and through the city of Berlin.

1.3.2. Research Questions: Tourism in, on and through the City

The notion that tourism is a form of communication underlies this thesis. However, its research design does not in any sense attempt 'to corroborate' that notion. The central research questions attempt rather to describe the multilayered interface between tourist communication and cities. In this sense, urban tourism is not investigated here as a sub-species of tourism and its study is not aimed at understanding tourist communication in general. The focus is rather placed on the interfaces, zones of interaction and friction between tourism and the city. Such emphases place this thesis in part in the tradition of urban studies. It is thus not just about the study of tourism by means of the city, but also about the city by means of tourism.

The central research questions indeed reflect an analytical model of the ways in which the city and tourist communication can be related to each other. Such a model crystallized during the first two years of my research as a mental map of the aspects of urban tourism that my research was covering or attempting to cover. The notions of tourist communication on, in and through the city summarize the kind of relationships and intersections between tourism and the city discussed in this thesis. The focus on these interfaces was based on the

assumption that they would allow a better grasp of urban tourism as a unique phenomenon and, as already mentioned, not just as a sub-category of tourism. The following explanation of the main research questions should illustrate that in the case of urban tourism we are already dealing with a form of tourist communication, which is constituted at societal level, not at urban level. It is rather the city, which is enacted by tourism in very specific ways as it communicates on, in or through it, namely, as a virtual object, as a noisy environment or as a policontextural sphere.

The first research question explored is devoted to understand the ways in which tourism processes the city as it communicates *on* it. The city appears here as an object, which is observed, enacted and performed by tourism. A central endeavour is indeed grasping the ways in which tourism makes sense of a city, reducing and 'translating' the urban complexity into tourist orderings of destination-identity, virtual topologies and sets of touring practices. Since the focus is on how tourism makes the city anew, this 'translation' is not understood to be just an interpretation, but rather a performative enactment of the city. The city of tourism is understood then to be a specific urban ontology produced by tourist communication in tourist terms and for tourist ends. It thereby emerges as an urban destination, a *virtual object* assembled as tourism communicates on the city. This rather broad way of questioning is presented in chapter 1 and explored through concrete empirical case-studies based on tourist guidebooks, maps and guided tours in chapters 2, 3 and 4.

The second research question explores the interface between tourist communication and the city from a radically different perspective. Its focus is on the situational conditions that enable the actualization of tourist communication *in* the urban context. From this perspective, the city appears as an incessant source of overflows and entanglements that constantly permeate tourist activity, undermining the specificity of tourist communication and rendering it into something else. Consequently, the question about how processes of framing and disentangling tourist activity in urban settings might occur addresses the city as a *noisy environment*. This question is explored through a variety of mini-ethnographies of touring practices and their embeddedness in sociotechnical arrangements, which are presented in chapters 4 and 6. A theoretical assessment of the dynamics of framing and overflowing of tourist practices and communication is presented in chapter 5.

Taken together, these research questions cover central aspects of the process of 'touring destinations' enabled by tourist communication. Consequently, they reveal some key structures of tourist communication, such as the distinction of destinations, the attraction of tourist attractions and the tourist/guide duality. These structures of tourist communication are discussed in chapter 7, which offers a theoretical summary of the main case-studies presented throughout the thesis. The societal function of tourism is also discussed as this is a constituent aspect of its definition as a functionally-differentiated form of communication.

The third perspective for the analysis of the encounter of tourist communication and the city emphasizes the couplings, collisions and steering strategies between tourism and other institutional, social and functional ambits enacting the city in multiple ways, such as city-marketing, politics of collective memory, commercial cultures, and urban design. Rather than a research question, this perspective defines a possible research agenda for the study of urban tourism, with the focus on the relationships of tourism with other forms of communications enabled *through* the city. The notion of city underlying such research agenda highlights it as a *policontextural sphere* made up of multiple ontologies, circulating networks and different forms of communication.

This triple approach to urban tourism underlies the main case-studies and the structure of this thesis. However, it should not be understood as a model of urban tourism. To further elaborate on the distinctions presented above as an abstract model would completely undermine their value as a way of posing research questions and as a tool for thinking about urban tourism. This triple approach to the interplay between tourism and cities should be rather, visible by its consequences, evident only when looking at the thesis as a whole. This is important, because by itself it has no value. It is rather like the hidden mechanism determining how this thesis works, defining its scope and limits, the kind of answers it has to offer and, above all, the kind of questions it poses.

1.3.3. Research Field: Berlin and the Problem of the Superlative

It is important to note that Berlin is not taken as a bounded case-study *of* urban tourism, but rather as a complex field *for* the study of urban tourism through small, particular and limited case-studies. The city of Berlin defines thus a "medium", where specific case-studies were completed with the aim of exploring the questions posed above, although it cannot be studied

exhaustively (cfr. Hammersley and Atkinson, 2001). Indeed, while Berlin circumscribes multiple objects of study, these can also transcend the geographical limits of the city. This is particularly clear in the case of urban tourism, where not only tourists are travelling in from other places, but also tourist images, narratives, objects and devices circulate throughout world-society.

The distinction between research field and case-study is important, for it is often the case that research projects elevate their respective fields (areas, cities, countries) to the position of 'case-studies', replicating thus a common flaw in naturalistic approaches to the social. The Chicago School, for example, developed a paradigm of urban research based on the idea of 'natural areas' of the city, which were considered as bounded objects of study given their alleged spatial, social, and moral unity. There is also in contemporary urban studies a tendency, described by Robert Beauregard (2003), to render whole cities into paradigmatic examples of particular urban trends by means of superlative claims. Neil Brenner (2003) has described three types of such superlative rhetoric strategies, by which cities are presented as stereotypes of features present in a larger group of cities, prototypes for new developments affecting larger groups of cities or archetypes of urban trends not so radically expressed in other cities. For Brenner such superlative statements pose above all a methodological problem related with the difficulties for reliable comparisons. In my view they are also problematic in that they treat the city as a case-study, concealing thereby its complexity and multiplicity. Consequently, the powerful reasons I cite for selecting the city of Berlin as a research field for the study urban tourism do not suggest any superlative properties of the city.

This research project was inspired by a sort of ethnographic 'revelation' about the central role played by tourist communication in the articulation of knowledges, practices and feelings about Berlin. Despite my ignorance of the German language, history and culture, during the second year of my MPhil in Social and Cultural Anthropology at the University of Barcelona I decided to write a short thesis on the ways people in Berlin deal with and use the idea of Europe in everyday life; a topic that began to fascinate me when I first came to Europe in 2001. My first visits to the city corresponded thus to the two field-trips I did for that research project. Just prior to finishing that thesis, I started to radically question my position in the field, in terms of the kind of practices, knowledge, feelings and materials enacted and collected during my research trips. It seemed to me that the boundary between ethnographic

field-trip and tourist travel was rather blurred and that this was less a disciplinary issue (cfr. Clifford, 1997) and more a local particularity associated with two aspects of Berlin's recent history. The first was that the radical transformation of the city position, form and population as a consequence of the fall of the Wall had made prior modes of urban knowledge and practice obsolete. Secondly, the situation of economic bankruptcy evident since the late 1990's would have led to the dismissal of images and narratives of urban resurgence and global success that politicians, city-boosters and some media propagated during the early years of German Reunification. Against this historical background, the constant growth of tourism rendered its unique orderings of the city into a central force articulating urban knowledge, narratives, images, and practices.

The impressive growth of tourism in Berlin since the late 1990's provides further motivation for its study. After the great tourist event of the fall of the Wall, tourism grew slowly. Until the mid 1990's Berlin competed equally with other German cities such as Munich or Hamburg for visitors. 1997 marked the start of an important growth-cycle. In just four years visitor numbers almost doubled (Garnitz et al., 1999). Experts cite the role of Berlin as capital city of Germany, the economic stability of the German economy, as well as the development of new strategies of city marketing and tourism advertisement (BTM, 2003) to explain this increase. This trend abruptly stopped in 2001, when visitor numbers declined for the first time since 1993. In addition to the negative impact of the 9/11 terrorist attacks in America on international travel, Berlin's tourism marketing agency pointed to macro-economic conditions, such as the economic recession in Germany and the introduction of the euro, which triggered cautious economic behaviour and discouraged tourism from overseas (BTM, 2002).

In 2003 tourism started a second very dynamic growth-cycle that by 2004 had turned Berlin into the third most-visited European urban destination after London and Paris. In 2004 the number of visitors increased by 18,8% with 6 million visitors alone staying in 3-star hotels or better (IHK Berlin, 2005). There were 7,5 million visitors in 2007 staying in 3-star hotels or better. This recent increase can in part be explained by the increase in the still low numbers of international visitors, who became responsible for approximately one third of all nights spent in hotels by 2007 (IHK Berlin, 2007). These statistics are weak regarding the exact number of visitors engaging in tourism in Berlin. They omit the numbers of people staying in youth hostels, bed-and-breakfasts, cheap hotels, or with friends and relatives, and day

trippers. They do not provide any information about the growth of tourist communication. Despite this, they are one of the few available indicators to show the increasing volume of tourism in, on and through Berlin.

The public life of such tourism statistics is a further indicator of the centrality of tourism for the self-description of the city. Local media and public institutions have claimed that growing tourist numbers are a clear manifestation of the new role played by Berlin in Europe. Such statements though, speak more for the importance of tourism in Berlin's urban politics and public sphere than for Berlin's position in the European and international urban tourism market. A more detailed analysis of tourist statistics reveals aspects that do not support such enthusiasm. With approximately 70% of all tourists being German, Berlin's tourism market has less international relevance than cities as Rome, Madrid or Barcelona. In addition, cities as Paris or London are a long way ahead of Berlin. London, for example, counts more than 110 millions overnight stays per year, which implies a market size almost 10 times bigger than Berlin's. Moreover, the significant participation of tourism in Berlin's economy, which in 2007 reached 7,7% of the city's internal product and produced more than 170,000 jobs[15], reflects the stagnation of other urban industries and the failure of precisely those processes of urban resurgence that tourism is supposed to initiate. Indeed, the growing success of Berlin as a tourist destination can be related to its very cheap prices, which are at the level of cities like Prague or Lisbon. Madrid, Barcelona, Amsterdam, Rome, Paris or London are more expensive with average prices for the latter two cases being almost double the prices found in Berlin.

Berlin has also an exceptional destination identity. Indeed, the city cannot be counted amongst great European metropolis that have created relatively stable destination identities over the last 150 years, such as London, Paris, or Venice, It does not belongs to the group of "new" European urban destinations, such as Bilbao, Manchester or Barcelona (cfr. Hetherington, 2003; Smith, 2005). Berlin exhibits a peculiar tension between a consolidated atmosphere and a recently gained character, an old and a new identity as a tourist destination (cfr. Cochrane and Jonas, 1999). Throughout the 20th century 'destination Berlin' has been in constant transformation, decade after decade, being continually re-ordered and re-imagined according to changing German political cultures and systems. Rudy Koshar (2000) has

[15] See Fach-Magazin für Touristik, Gastronomie, Hotellerie und Grossverbrauch Industrie. April, 2007. http://www.fm-online.at. Access: December 15, 2007

suggested that the history of German tourism has produced at least five different 'travel cultures' based on different sets of values and ideas about travel and society. His account could be easily expanded to include at least seven travel cultures, since he overlooks the particular travel culture of the GDR. He also proposes a very disputable interpretation of West German tourism, giving a North-American perspective on travel to Cold War West Berlin (cfr. Pagenstecher, 2003; Spode, 1996). Against such a background, the fall of the Berlin Wall and the reunification of Germany brought yet another wave of transformations of the destination culture, which has yet to be studied systematically.

The ambiguous character created by the co-existence of new elements and old traditions, absences and presences, contributes also to the study of tourism as a communicative arrangement. Touring Berlin is not an activity that goes without saying. The massive destruction of the fabric of the city as a consequence of the World Wars, the division and not least of all, urban planning politics, has left the city without many of its historical places, buildings and infrastructures. In tourism therefore sights and sites need to be communicatively enacted, in order to be seen. Consequently, visual understandings of tourism are less suitable for making sense of the touring practices enabled by the city. They are to a great extent about imaginary and invisible geographies. Berlin also lacks attractions known world-wide, such as the Eiffel Tower, Big Ben or the Sagrada Familia, and historical landscapes, such as Venice's canals or Prague's old city centre. This lack of self-evidence of tourism in Berlin makes the city a particularly appropriate research field for investigating tourism as an improbable achievement of communication structures.

1.3.4. Reflections on Fieldwork in Berlin

Berlin began to fascinate me from the time I arrived in September 2003. I was not fascinated by its history, landscapes of memory, politics of urban space, art, underground, left political scenes, or its new role, position and perspective in a reunified Germany and bigger Europe, or its tourist development (even though that started to confirm my intuition about tourism and Berlin). I was captivated, rather, by the unspectacular, but wacky everyday life in what Berliners call their *Kiez*, or neighbourhood. This conditioned a particular sensibility which, I think, is entangled in inextricable ways with my research and reflections on urban tourism.

During my first year I lived in a dreary area of Friedrichshain, a city district neighbouring Berlin's Mitte, in the former East Berlin. My *Kiez*, however, was neither the so-called *Südkiez* with Berlin's highest concentration of bars, restaurants and cafes nor the so-called *Nordkiez* with the last resisting remnants of the squatter movement. It corresponded to the mainly residential space between those two *Kieze*, the park *Fiedrichshain* and an urban highway. The main reference points of my quotidian geography were two cheap grocery stores surrounded day and night by unemployed East Berliners drinking beer or playing billiards, one bar which was closed after a police raid that ended with charges being laid against the owner and some customers for permitting the bar to be used for a meeting point for Neo-Nazis, and a restored 1920's bar-cinema where low-budget European films are shown to a young, alternative clientele. The *Kiez* was an unsophisticated everyday environment shaped by social problems, urban poverty, a slight sense of insecurity, but also a very curious character, given the array of strange urban personages. In any case, it was far away from the rest of the city. I would need to take a 15 or 20 minutes bike-ride or take public transportation to get the feeling of being in Berlin. My research field was even further away.

For the next three years I lived in the Kreuzberg-Neukölln area, at the junction of two districts to the south of Berlin's Mitte, in former West Berlin. I lived in two *Kieze* (SO36 and Reuterkiez) on both sides of this increasingly fluid, but clear frontier, marked by the waters of Landswehrkanal. These two *Kieze* have large Turkish populations, commerce, institutions and culture. They also stand for the German cultural avant-garde of the 1980's (SO36) and for the wanting-to-be alternative design and culture quarter of the present day (Reuterkiez). Both are very lively areas with plenty of cafes, bars and restaurants, servicing a mixed clientele. There are inexpensive shops, commerce, supermarkets and a fresh-fruit market held twice a week. These are not, however, leisured landscapes, but areas, where poverty, conflicts and violence, particularly among gangs of youngsters made up of high-school students and school drop-outs, are constituent parts of the everyday life. In contrast to Friedrichshain, where I had a long way to get to the city, my sense here was that I didn't really need to move from my *Kiez*.

This tendency to immobility and to cut-off the links between one's own neighbourhood and the rest of the city is what in Berlin is commonly called *Kiez*-mentality and explained as a consequence of the late unification of Berlin out of multiple small villages and towns. In any case, this not-uniquely geographical distance from the city centre and the major circuits of urban tourism sharpened my sensibility towards the virtual identity and

topology of the destination Berlin. I could grasp this sense of virtuality when I found myself making visual sketches of the 'destination Berlin' for friends visiting the city and staying with me. It was also present in all my fieldwork excursions to places within the city that remain even today unfamiliar to me. I usually ended up explaining to my visiting friends that this is a schizophrenic city, where the spaces of tourism, city-events and the historical centre are very cut-off from the spaces of everyday life. It is not uncommon to read in the Monday paper that the day before hundreds of thousands of people had participated in an open-air festival, shopping-night or other event, of which one had absolutely no idea.

Living in the city where one is carrying out fieldwork, certainly has great advantages, but also entails some risks. Everyday knowledge and sensibility is particularly important in order to better weigh the impact and relevance of tourist landscapes in the urban everyday and to avoid over-interpretation. Living in the city eased the dynamics of entering and leaving the field being focused on tourist practices, to the extent that it became difficult to define time periods for doing fieldwork research. It is very difficult to give an unequivocal answer to the classic question posed by anthropologists about the temporal longitude of my fieldwork. Since I live in Berlin, I have been continuously entering and leaving the tourist field so the answer could be four years. It could also be one year, if I only count the period of time when I completed the case studies presented in this thesis or, again, longer than a year if I include other case-studies that were left out or dropped-off in a preliminary or still incomplete stage. If only the precise number of days I spent following and talking to tourists, doing participant observation on different types of walking-tours and bus-tours, talking to tour-guides, interviewing guided-tour company owners and managers, visiting tourist shops, collecting materials, such as tourist maps, brochures, souvenirs, attending tourist events and fairs, and reading guidebooks, is accepted as fieldwork then the time scope should be reduced to a few months, probably between four and five months inhabiting the tourist field of Berlin.

There is a second aspect of my life in Berlin that influenced the position I had in the field and that proved to be a source of all kind of ambiguities. It is uncommon for Social Sciences PhD researchers from Latin America and other regions of the 'global south' to carry out doctoral investigations on topics and issues that do not concern their homelands or regions. Reversing this trend and doing research on a foreign European city, culture and language became for me a paradox and a stimulating way to partake of the profoundly European anthropological and ethnological disciplinary traditions. On the one hand, it

involved replicating anthropology's basic intellectual gesture and interests for the radical 'Other', but inversing it by doing research in Europe and not in my homeland. On the other hand, it involved participating and eventually contributing to the European discipline of ethnology, but doing this without sharing its basic orientation to the study of one's own culture.

In the intellectually sophisticated academic environments of the ethnological and metropolitan studies, such paradoxes could only be object of clever thoughts and observations and never represent any kind of identity conflict. In the research field, however, the situation was less evident, being often difficult to convince both tourists and tour guides about the seriousness of my identity as a Chilean researcher doing a PhD on Berlin's tourism. My Chilean identity was certainly never questioned, but for some it seemed hard to understand that I was genuinely doing a PhD focusing on bus-tours. It must be clearly articulated that in the majority of the cases my position was never questioned, that the tour managers and guides I met were interested in talking with me and facilitating my work. Not paying for the tours I took was never an issue. However, for some it was difficult to understand my endeavour. "Bus tours? Are you serious? Did you do your *Diplom* (undergraduate thesis) in Berlin too? It must difficult for you to do this without knowing the history of the city…" These were the kind of questions that my position in the field often posed. I found particularly telling the implicit agreement I found with one of my interviewees, for whom it was much easier to understand what I was doing if we talked about my *Diplom* thesis, not my doctorate.

There was one situation during my fieldwork in which the ambiguity of my identity produced not just noise, but was perceived as somehow dangerous. I always had to explain who I was and what I was doing to different guides I met, even though I would have permission from the different company managers to do research on his or her tours. On this one occasion, the guide I met heard my explanation and replied that she really didn't like the idea of having me in her tour:

> "As if she hadn't heard what I had just said, she asked me if I wanted to become a tour guide. I declined and explained again that this was for my PhD. She replied that she had seen lots of people taking notes and stealing information from other guides. She had to be very vigilant, she said, so that nobody would do that to her" (Fieldnotes, September 15, 2005).

The following chapters contain lots of information and tourist knowledge of the city of Berlin, which I gathered during my fieldwork with tourists, tour guides and through my reading of tourist guidebooks. They also include detailed case-studies which analyse the tactics,

practices and strategies of tour guides, the ways they stage the city or articulate their knowledge with the tourist space. I firmly attest here that none of these insights can be in any sense considered as stolen from any guides and their only aim is to reach a more profound comprehension of the phenomenon of tourism. I also hope that beyond academic discussion, the following pages could help all persons involved in tourism to learn more about their own activities and to mindfully steer their own practices.

2. Tourism and the Multiple City I: Destinations as Virtual Objects of Tourist Communication

What is a destination? What kind of assemblages and connections, associations and communications, need to be enacted for a destination to emerge as a distinct entity? How real, how coherent, how distinct must they be? In what kinds of realms are destinations embedded? These basic questions are the starting off point for this chapter which focuses on the process that transforms particular cities into urban destinations. It is thus about a process of reduction of complexity that introduces new complexity into the city; about a process of translation and about the creation of something new, hitherto non-existent. Such transformations of cities into destinations involve not just an epistemological transformation, that is a transformation in the way we conceive and know places, but also an ontological transformation affecting the possible enactments of cities.

In this chapter, I develop an original theoretical conception of urban destinations as virtual objects of tourist communication. In the first part of this chapter, I explore what I term 'the difficult ontology of urban destinations'. Indeed, it has become increasingly difficult for destinations to constitute themselves as distinct or bounded entities given the increasing standardization of the tourist industry and the convergence of political strategies for urban resurgence. Moreover, an examination of the multiple networks of stakeholders and elements comprising a destination reveals destinations as multiple objects differently enacted by different actors in different contexts (1). Given this difficult ontology, the second part of this chapter seeks to understand how destinations can become distinct entities by means of the notion of virtual object. I address the two central aspects of the difficult ontology described above by using together actor-network theory (ANT) and Luhmann's communication theory as complementary analytical tools. I examine firstly how destinations become powerful virtual objects capable of holding together multiple socio-technical assemblages and, secondly, how they become distinct entities (2).

2.1. Destinations: A Difficult Ontology

2.1.1. Homogenization and Standardization of Urban Locales

The process of standardization of tourist destinations around the world, particularly at the urban level has been described by numerous scholars in recent years. The reinvention of many cities as destinations has underscored "an odd paradox: whereas the appeal of tourism is the opportunity to see something different, cities that are remade to attract tourists seem more and more alike" (Fainstein and Judd, 1999: 12). Indeed, the 'urban spatial fix' of late capitalism, the globalization of the tourism industry and the emergence of virtual global space are the three main forces behind the standardization of destinations.

David Harvey's thesis (1989) that cities constitute the main arenas where the configurations of late capitalism are reflected, particularly over-accumulation of capital, globalisation and postmodernism, explains in part the increasing similarities between cities. In Europe, for example, major scalar transformations have taken place since the mid-1970s, transforming urban regions into key arenas of 'glocalization' and exacerbating inter-city competition and intra-national uneven development (Brenner, 2004). Similarly, the turn towards entrepreneurial forms of urban governance (Faerber, 2005) and the adoption of similar strategies to ameliorate urban decay associated with rapid deindustrialisation and urban sprawl (C. Law, 1992a) are reflected in the *Festivalisierung* of urban politics (Häußermann and Siebel, 1993), the spectacularization of architecture, the revitalization of waterfronts and docklands, the proliferation of theme-parks (Sorkin, 1991), the spread of shopping malls (Shields, 1989) and 'non-places', such as hotels or airports (Augé, 1995) and, of course, the rise of urban tourism.

Indeed, business and leisure tourism has become a strategic sector for local development and urban regeneration. In addition to the jobs and other direct consequences of tourism highlighted by some tourism researchers (Shaw and Williams, 1994), investing in urban tourism has resulted in cities investing in urban centres, cultural attractions, infrastructure, preservation of heritage amongst others. These are vital conditions for stimulating the economic resurgence of inner city areas (Fainstein and Gladstone, 1999; C. Law, 1992a). In addition, since tourism involves the consumption of signs, symbols and spectacles and the creation of aestheticised spaces for entertainment and pleasure (Selby, 2004b), its sustained growth has contributed to the further transformation of cities into 'dreamscapes of visual consumption' (Zukin, 1991).

This process has been well documented particularly in the cases of the heritage industry and city marketing. The heritage industry has been criticised for packaging culture, contributing to the commodification of local history and culture, and the diverting of attention away from the present (Hewison, 1987; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998). City marketing has been criticised for an even more decontextualised appropriation and commodification of urban culture and post-modern urban lifestyles to serve economic ends (Sorkin, 1991; Ward, 1998). Thus, whilst cities have reacted to the greater sensitivity of capital to variations of place highlighting their differences in ways attractive to capital (Harvey, 1989), "[c]ompetition among corporations and cities has led to a multiplicity of standardized attractions that reduce the uniqueness of urban identities" (Zukin, 1998: 837).

The internal dynamics of the tourism industry also contributes to the homogenization of tourist destinations. The remarkable boom in tourism over the last decades has transformed the industry into one of the most important sectors of the world economy. Among the multiple indicators of this growth it is interesting to note that by 2006, the travel and tourism sector accounted for 10.3 percent of world GDP. In the same year, there were 234 million jobs in the industry, making up 8.2 percent of total employment worldwide, and reaching new record figures close to 900 millions for international arrivals in 2007 (Blanke and Chiesa, 2007). The fact that tourism has become an almost a taken for granted activity for hundreds of millions of people is sociologically even more relevant. At any one time more than 300,000 passengers are in flight only above the US, a number big enough to populate a city (Urry, 2002). Such amazing industry growth has not come without new challenges. A central issue for the industry has become the problem of 'sameness'. This is an almost unavoidable development given that "standardization is part and parcel of the economies of scale that high-volume tourism requires" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998: 152).

There are, indeed, processes of vertical integration in the industry, which involve that few national and multinational corporations take control of large chunks of tourist infrastructures, services, supply systems, and distribution channels. As Buhalis (2000: : 111) explains, long term partnerships with tour operators and leisure travel agencies have been established by many European destinations, further concentrating the European tourism industry. As a result, a small number of integrated tour operators (such as TUI in Germany and the Netherlands, or Thomson in the UK) control significant market shares. Such

convergence can also be observed in the emergence of competitive clusters of European tourist cities (see Grabler et al., 1996).

At the same time, the competitiveness of cities and other locales to a large extent depends on "the existing potential synergies and tensions between the global tourism and the local socio-economic development" (Russo and van der Borg, 2002: 2). Adopting international quality standards for tourist products, facilities and services has become a central element for constructing a successful destination in the long term. The industry therefore needs a reliable product that meets universal standards. These processes contribute to the emergence of a large network of players connecting destinations, tourism stakeholders, products and services at a European level. Moreover, the vertical integration of the tourism industry and the consolidation of international standards have another important consequence for destinations: they become functional equivalents. "The very interchangeability of generic products suits the industry, which can quickly shift destinations if one paradise or another is booked solid or hit by a typhoon, political unrest, or currency fluctuations" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998: 153).

In addition to these rather 'materialist perspectives' (Selby, 2004b), contemporary standardization of urban realities has been also associated with the flattening of the difference between physical and electronic spaces, such as the Internet, which frames how physical space is perceived, inhabited, signified, and evaluated (Crang, 2001; Nunes, 2001). In the case of cities, where networked technologies, such as the car, the television or the telephone, have collapsed in their task of evenly integrating and maintaining daily cycles of connection (Graham and Marvin, 2001), urban realities become more suitable for being reimagined with new technologies of simulation and communication. For some authors, such technologies constitute "together with tourism, an emerging factor in the standardization of city cultures" (Holmes, 2001b: 32).

Tourism has also been described as constituting a homogeneous virtual global space. Holmes, for example, argues that tourism has become a 'monoculture of globalization' (Holmes, 2001a), prescribing an approach to places in which familiarity and homogeneity predominates over differences of national, regional or local culture. From this perspective, destinations are 'domesticated' by tourism and reduced to a position in the global geography

of tourism. Thus, tourist spaces "exist on a global plane of interlocking space. They are spaces which seemingly allow anything-anywhere-anytime" (Holmes, 2001b: 5).

These three forces of standardization radically change the conditions under which tourist destinations struggle for uniqueness and distinctiveness. This is particularly true for European cities. They have all implemented similar strategies of urban resurgence. The tourism industry follows well established international standards and the quality of tourism products and prices are converging. Lastly Internet and other electronic multimedia pull towards a homogenization of urban cultures.

Despite this, standardization does not lead to an irreversible loss of distinctiveness, but rather to the cultivation of difference at another level. Looking at European cities, it is not clear to what extent urban destinations are really becoming functional equivalents or whether they are still capable of producing new differences. If the latter is the case, as my empirical materials suggest, it might be necessary then to rethink the ontology of destinations anew and to elaborate new concepts that could provide a basis for understanding how difference might emerge out of sameness. In order to do this, it is, however, necessary to further discuss the 'difficult ontology of destinations'. Indeed, if the aim is to describe and analyze tourist destinations in a context of standardization and inner multiplicity, not just their distinctiveness must be questioned, but also its boundedness and coherency must be deconstructed.

2.1.2. Urban Destinations as Multiple Objects

Tourist destinations comprise large collections of tourist goods, infrastructures, attractions and services, which are produced, administrated, controlled and distributed by large numbers of private and public stakeholders operating to a great extent independently from each other. The organization and dynamics of this industry has been analyzed among others by Fainstein and Judd (1999), who point to institutions exclusively oriented to tourists and tourism as the main constituents of the industry. There are, on the one hand, institutions responsible for planning, managing and marketing city tourism resources, products and services, such as tourist information agencies, destination management organizations, departments of tourism planning and city marketing agencies. On the other hand, there are also organizations producing tourist goods, services and facilities, such as hotels, tour operators or souvenirs shops.

The tourism industry also relies, in addition, on large chains of local and international suppliers of products and services. These players are only partially oriented to tourism. They can include property companies, transportation systems, heritage centres, car rental companies, museums, banks, bars, restaurants, night clubs, sports stadia, music halls and conference centres. As Fainstein and Judd point out, it is precisely this tight entwinement with the local sphere that bestows on tourism its great potential to prompt processes of urban resurgence (see also C. Law, 1992a). At the same time, however, the large number of stakeholders makes it difficult for Destination Managements Organizations (DMOs) to find compromises that encompass all their multiple and diverse interests, preventing potential conflicts (Buhalis, 2000).

Museums are a great example of this double bind with tourism. Indeed, museums have become premier nodes in a global network of tourist attractions and, at the same time, more and more dependent on visitors provided by the tourist industry (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998). This is evident in Berlin where the two most important clusters of museums and cultural institutions, the *Museumsinsel* and the *Kulturforum*, constitute important tourist attractions. Against this background, the museum's product is being radically transformed, moving away from its traditional focus on 'artefacts' on display towards a new emphasis on the 'experience' of visitors (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998).

The New National Gallery in Berlin demonstrates this move towards tourist forms of consumption. Its permanent exhibition has been kept mostly out of public sight for many years, prefering to host instead more and more spectacular special exhibitions oriented to attract both locals and tourists. The temporary MOMA exhibition at The New National Gallery in 2004 also showed that, "instead of waiting for the tourists to come to them, museums are going to the tourists" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998: 135). This re-modelling of museums centred on tourism has indeed blurred the distinctions between home and away, tourists and locals. At the same time, however, museums are also refractory to be packaged and promoted together with other tourist products. The New National Gallery, for example, pursues its own world-wide communication strategies and explicitly refuses to follow the marketing and communication concepts and programs of the Berliner Tourismus Marketing GmbH (BTM).[1]

[1] As explained a representative of the *Verein der Freunde der Neuen Nationalgalerie* (New National Gallery's Friends Association) in a podium discussion on "Metropole Berlin: Kunst als touristische Strategie?"

Focusing on institutional actors, such as museums, DMOs or tourist marketing agencies, does not exhaust the number of elements partaking of the 'ecology of urban tourism' (Fainstein and Judd, 1999). Other important elements to be considered are cityscapes, monuments, urban flairs, images, myths, city history and stories, which do not belong to individual players and cannot be reduced to the interests of any individual agent (Buhalis, 2000). One classic model for understanding 'the elements of urban tourism', proposed by Jansen-Verbecke (1988) incorporates such public and immaterial goods as the primary elements performing the character of a destination (See Figures 1.1. and 1.2.).

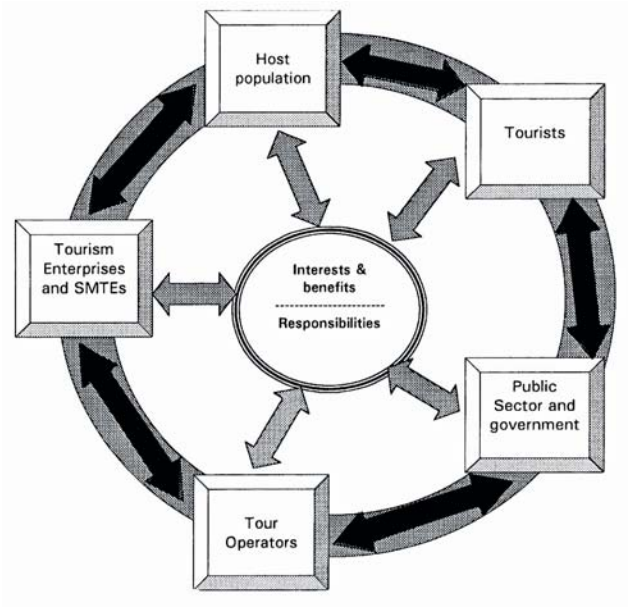

Figure 1.1. The dynamic wheel of tourism stakeholders. Buhalis 2000, pp. 99

(Metropolis Berlin: Art as a tourist strategy?) that took place in July, 20th 2006 at the Free University of Berlin. This was the final event of the conference series *Kampf der Künste. Kunstproduktion im Zeichen von Medienkonkurrenz und neuen 'Event'-Strategie* (War of Arts: Art Production in Times of Media Competition and new events-strategies).

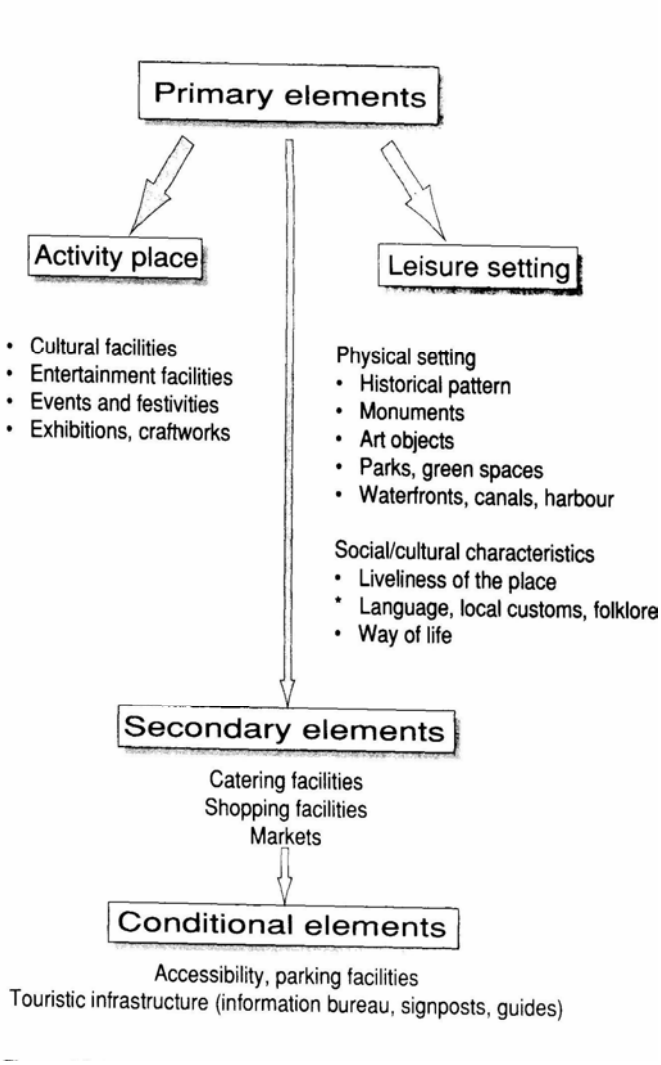

Figure 1.2. The elements of urban tourism. Shaw and Williams 1994, after Jense-Verbeke, pp. 203

Regardless of the complex relations between stakeholders and other elements, destinations circulate, are imagined, sold and consumed in a comprehensive form, i.e. as totalities that comprise the multiple encounters, products and services experienced during a stay. Understanding the process of aggregation, by which loose networks of suppliers and services, experiences and tourists, attractions and images, interact with each other and emerge as unique entities, constitutes one of the major challenges for practitioners and thinkers of tourism. The fascination with modelling the destination, for example, goes together with the chimera of intent and calculated interventions (Page, 1995) that could increase the 'attractiveness of the tourist system' (Russo and van der Borg, 2002) or enhance the 'experience of the tourist' (Selby, 2004b).

However, the lack of control over the 'marketing mix', relatively scarce budgets, and political considerations (Morgan and Pritchard, 1999) make attempts to steer such aggregation processes particularly difficult for most DMOs. It is also particularly difficult to establish *a priori* relations of causality, hierarchy or reciprocity between the components of a destination. Buhalis (2000) therefore proposes to understand destinations as 'amalgams' whose attributes and properties are emergent and significantly distinct from those of its elements. This understanding assumes symmetrical, simultaneous and synergic interactions of elements of tourism, instead of modelling its relations.

This is the departure point for understanding tourist destinations along the analytical principles of the Actor-Network Theory (ANT) (for an introduction, see Callon, 2001; Latour, 2005b). The first of these principles is that of radical relationality (Law, 2000). John Law describes ANT as a semiotic, a method and even a sensibility that extends the principle of relationality beyond language (as in de Saussare), beyond culture (as in Lévi-Strauss) and beyond communication (as in Luhmann) to all entities. Objects, tools, technologies, texts, formulae, institutions and humans are not understood as pertaining to different and incommensurable realms, black-boxed to each other, but rather as relational effects of their inter-actions and associations.

The consequences of this radical relationality are enormous, since the latter involves the dissolution of fixed categories and clear cut distinctions, such as the one between humans and non-humans, and the pursuit of a fluid and relational ontology. Collectives (Latour, 1993), actor-networks (Callon, 1987; Law, 1992b) and assemblages (DeLanda, 2006) are some of the various names given to these rhizomatic and hybrid associations of heterogeneous entities. The description of tourist destinations as amalgams can thus be radicalized with the notion of collectives, which apart from humans, also includes spaces, objects, technologies, texts, images, individuals, institutions, and social groups (Callon and Law, 1995). Hosts, guests, infrastructures, attractions, hotels, restaurants, entertainment facilities, transport technologies, photography, images, tour guides, tourist guidebooks and other elements of the actor-network gain a new quality from this perspective as relational effects of each other.

The methodological principle sustaining radical relationality is called by Michel Callon (1986) the principle of generalized symmetry, which pleads for the use of a common conceptual repertoire to describe and analyze the relations between humans and non-humans.

The generalized symmetry principle seeks to show that "the dividing line between people and objects is subject to negotiation and changes" (Law, 1992b: 4) and therefore should not be presumed, but explained. The classical ANT studies of the 1980s focused particularly on the hybrid nature of non-humans and sought to highlight their agency. Thus, texts or scientific papers (Latour and Woolgar, 1986), animals such as scallops (Callon, 1986) and objects, even simple doors (Latour, 1992), are given the ability to act and inter-act with other human and nonhuman entities (for a critique, see Collins and Yearly, 1992; Fuchs and Marshall, 1998).

Applying this generalized symmetry principle to the analysis of destinations permits new light to be shed on the nature and role played by 'primary elements' of tourist destinations, such as landscapes, monuments, restaurants, buildings, and even rivers and mountains. A recent attempt to show this symmetrical distribution of agency between human and non-human entities interacting in the construction of tourist destinations has been carried out by van der Duim (2005; 2007), who introduces the concept of 'tourismscapes' to denote "the actor networks within and across different societies and regions connecting together systems of transport, accommodation and facilities, tourism resources, environments, technologies, and people and organizations" (van der Duim, 2005: 97).

ANT facilitates a new awareness of tourist destinations as multiple objects. The French philosopher Henry Bergson stressed the concept of multiplicity to radically question the homogeneity and unity of reality. As Gilles Deleuze explained, Bergson distinguishes between two types of multiplicity:

> "One is represented by space (or rather, if all the nuances are taken into account, by the impure combination of homogeneous time): It is a multiplicity of exteriority, of simultaneity, of juxtaposition, of order, of quantitative differentiation, of *difference in degree*; it is a numerical multiplicity, *discontinuous and actual*. The other type of multiplicity appears in pure duration: It is an internal multiplicity of succession, of fusion, of organization, of heterogeneity, of qualitative discrimination, or of *difference in kind*; it is a *virtual and continuous* multiplicity that cannot be reduced to numbers" (Deleuze, 1988a: 38).

The first type implies a form of 'quantitative multiplicity' clearly exemplified by Bergson with a flock of sheep, i.e. a juxtaposition of homogeneous elements with discernable spatial positions. Bergson's assertion of the multiplicity of reality does not just refer to the existence of spatial juxtapositions of objects, sheeps, humans or symbols each of them different from the others and with a defined identity, but goes way beyond that.

The second type forms a 'qualitative multiplicity', which is not just heterogeneous, but also extended in time (not in space). Its heterogeneity derives not from the existence of multiple epistemic positions that differently define its elements, but ontological. It is indeed derived from two basic tensions that refer to its temporal or durational nature: between the real and the possible, and between the actual and the virtual. On the one hand, Bergson observes that the real opens up horizons of multiple realizable possibilities. Even though such possibilities are conditioned by the real, they multiply reality[2]. On the other hand, Bergson points to the virtual tendencies of the actual. These are forces or drives not yet actualised, but pulling the real towards new and unforeseen actualizations. Thus, while possibilities represent unfulfilled realities, the actualization of these virtual tendencies involves the appearance of something new. Both possibilities and virtual tendencies account for the multiplicity of reality as an 'inner heterogeneity' that is differently actualised in different times and situations.

This qualitative multiplicity is therefore internal to objects, sheeps, humans or symbols. As such, it undermines the distinction One/Many, which, as Manuel DeLanda (2002) explains, underlies the Cartesian (and quotidian) understanding of analytical geometry. But while in geometry such understanding of multiplicity was definitively overcome with the differential geometry of Carl Friedrich Gauss, the One/Many distinction remains a central assumption in social sciences. Most anthropological, sociological and psychological theories do in fact start from the One/Many distinction. Either we argue that the self is one or we stress that it is plural. Culture is either the universal principle of humanity or a plurality of cultures. Similarly, modernity is either understood as a homogeneous formation or we speak of multiple modernities. Indeed, only few theories address such issues in terms of one-multiple body or one-multiple modernity (some contemporary exceptions include Mol, 2002; Nassehi, 2004).

Annemarie Mol, for example, describes a multiple ontology of bodies moving from one hospital section to the next: "ontology is not given in the order of things, but […] are brought into being, sustained, or allowed to wither away in common, day-to-day, sociomaterial practices" (Mol, 2002: 6). In this manner, she complements Bergson's assertion with references to the generative character of practices. The metaphor of construction, argues

[2] Deleuze and Guattari suggest that the difference between the real and the possible is logical, not ontological, and argue that since the possible is defined by the real, it is static and nothing new can be created in its realization (Deleuze & Guattari 1987).

Mol, has been used to suggest that even though objects, selves or realities do not have a given identity, they gradually acquire a relatively fixed identity through a set of processes or practices. But "(i)f it is not removed from the practices that sustain it, reality is multiple" (Mol, 2002: 6).

Another exception is actor-network theory. While Latour (1999) famously criticized the hyphen in actor-network for suggesting a tension between agency and structure, his later defence of the hyphen (Latour, 2005b) makes clear that it stands for the same sort of qualitative multiplicity theorized by Bergson. As an early definition by Michel Callon suggests, "[t]he actor-network is reducible neither to an actor alone nor to a network […] An actor-network is at the same time an actor whose activity is networking heterogeneous elements and a network that is able to redefine and change what is made of" (Callon, 1987: 93). It is therefore correct to speak of one-multiple actor-networks.

Following this line of thought, I shall argue that destinations can be understood as multiple objects, whose identities are not fixed, but always constitute a temporary achievement, dependent on the contexts and practices of its actualization. This equates to the sense of urban destinations described by Christopher Law:

> "There is a range of activities in these cities which not only provides excitement but a feeling that there will always be plenty of things to do. The enjoyment of these activities and the sheer range is such that frequently visitors will say that they would like to come back again, because amongst other things they did not have time to do all that they wanted to do. Quite obviously it is possible to speak of an urban tourism and an urban tourist […] when describing the phenomenon found in large cities, where the sum is greater than the parts" (C. Law, 1996: 19-20).

In his description of the distinctiveness of urban tourism, Christopher Law invokes an old semantic: the sum is greater than the parts. Niklas Luhmann (1997a) notes that the distinction sum/parts is an old-European solution to the paradox of a unity that is simultaneously one and multiple: the *unitas multiplex*. It is then possible to argue that while the parts are actual objects (stakeholders, products, services, attractions, amenities, etc.), the 'sum' of these parts correspond to the possibilities and tendencies that make a destination a multiple object.

It is precisely this multiplicity of the destination that Christopher Law celebrates as distinctive of urban destinations: the experience that there is always something more, something that escapes the gaze and remains pending. Destinations exhibit thus a surplus of references to other practices, other meanings, other spaces and other times, which are possible

and virtual, which are predictable, but which also involve the unexpected and new. Indeed, following Mol, different stakeholders, different sites, different elements and tourist attractions can be understood as multiple actors, instances and sets of practices enacting the destination in multiple ways.

2.2. Destinations as Virtual Objects of Tourist Communication

...a little sun around which the players orbit

Steven Brown 2002

2.2.1. The *Mana* of Urban Tourism

In spite of standardization and inner multiplicity, tourist destinations often exhibit robust identities that allow them to maintain great coherency across different contexts of meaning and practices. Such capacity of multiple objects, actor-networks and certainly destinations to appear as being singular, integrated, stable entities constitute a central issue for any description of tourist destinations. The question is unavoidable: how are such transformations of multiplicities into objects, of urban elements into destinations possible.

It is necessary to begin by looking at the work of those who are expert in such transformations. Indeed, a well-known truth in tourism marketing is that a destination is constituted fundamentally not by products, services or facilities, but by what tourism marketing professionals call its 'position'; "[a] position that evokes images of a destination in the customer's mind; images that differentiate the destination from the competition and also as a place that can satisfy their needs and wants" (Chacko, 1997: 69). Tourism marketing distinguishes between the 'tangible' products and services of a destination, such as the hotel room, the meal, the old city centre or a mountain, and its 'intangible' position: "What we are marketing, of course, are intangibles. The tangibles are essential and necessary but as soon as they reach a certain level of acceptance, they become secondary" (Chacko, 1997: 70). From this perspective, the identity of the destination cannot be cultivated at the level of its components, but by means of single-minded concepts that function as umbrellas embracing everything a destination does or represents.

Branding is the technique adopted by city-marketers since the mid-1990's to define and consolidate the position of the destination. Destination brands are expected to do more

than their old job of identifying and differentiating the product being sold by means of logos and taglines. They must propose a unique selling proposition that involves a promise of a unique and memorable travel experience (Blain et al., 2005). In this respect, destination brands can be compared with other global brands, which are also oriented to the production of qualitative differences (Lury, 2004). As suggested by Callon and colleagues, competition in the 'economy of qualities' is structured by two basic principles: processes of singularization of products and mechanisms of attachment and detachment of consumers (Callon et al., 2002). Destination brands are indeed attempts to fulfil both functions: singularizing the destination (a reason to visit a place) and providing a powerful basis for attachment (a reason to return).

This is not something new or unique to destination brands. The historian Catherine Cocks (2001) has recently shown that by the turn of the 20th century a central element in the rise of urban tourism in the United States was the attribution of a personality to a city. She argues that urban personalities made the city easily available, readable and intelligible, increasing its appeal for tourists, so rendering it into a saleable commodity, offering a compelling reason to visit, and conveying a sense of social unity. City personalities were based on an image of the city as a living entity "composed of the built environment and the citizens, both animated by civic spirit" (Cocks, 2001: 151) and, like destination brands, promising to weave together all human, material and immaterial elements of the city.

Underlying both brands and personalities is a similar process transforming a multiplicity of elements into a 'virtual object': "tourism [is] largely in the business of virtuality, but claims to be in the business of actualities –real places, real things, and real experiences" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998: 169). Following John Law, a virtual object

> "[…] is an object that appears to be real, to be solid, and to be out there. But is, in fact, something that has been created in the process of representation and accounting. An object that is both created, and at the same time warrants the process of representation within it is created" (Law, 1995: 298).

As John Law points out, virtual objects must be worked out in order to appear as independent objects capable of overcoming the ambiguities and inconsistencies derived from their internal multiplicity. Latour (1993), describes such work as a typically 'modern' work of purification, by which multiplicities are transformed into what he calls 'quasi-objects' (described by 'moderns' as things) and 'quasi-subjects' (described by 'moderns' as persons). The transformation of destinations into virtual objects also involves standardization of

heterogeneity, reduction of complexity and production of identity; that is, a work of purification that makes possible the emergence of the destination as a 'quasi-place'.

Destinations can be understood as virtual objects to the extent that they have the capacity to emerge as solid entities, unique positions or clear personalities, independent from contexts and practices. As Cocks (2001) shows, city personalities form urban meanings and practices, defining citizens' and visitors' identities, mediating expectations and moulding activities. Like other virtual objects, destinations are "projected as pre-existing behind the practices in which they are represented" (Law, 2002a: 217). They are not representations to be interpreted but they "have to be handled, responded to, they help to organise, are resources for activities, and so on" (Brigham, 2003: 4).

Scholars of marketing argue that brands constitute symbols around which practices of travelling and perceiving are structured, communicators between stakeholders and tourists, value enhancers, and intermediaries in the relationships between multiple parties (Hankinson in Blain et al., 2005). City-marketers have recognized the generative role played by the destination as a virtual object, not only producing images, but also articulating the relations between the components of the destination. Their central challenge therefore has become what Chacko (1997) calls the process of 'tangibilizing the intangible'; i.e. linking an attractive abstract, intangible concept with the material, tangible elements of the destination. However, if we accept that the inner heterogeneity of a destination is not simply commanded by city-marketing's techniques of 'urban imagineering' (Faerber and Gnadiec, 2004; Kaschuba, 2003b), then the central question is how the work of purification by which cities are transformed into destinations, collectives into black-boxes, multiplicities into virtual objects is done. In my view, there are at least three possible perspectives to understand how this work is done. Each perspective has very different consequences for the status attributed to the destination.

Firstly, scholars working on symbolic representations of cities understand city brands as belonging to the ambit of 'urban imaginaries', i.e. the ensemble of urban representations, images and discourses involved in the production of urban symbols and spaces (Zukin, 1996b). As in classical materialist approaches, urban imaginaries are understood as expressing, legitimizing and reproducing the interests of particular social groups living in the city, which are constituted along lines of class, race, ethnicity and gender. From this

perspective, urban imaginaries are mostly seen as in competition with each other for the monopoly of urban symbols and space and as constituting landscapes of power (Zukin, 1991) and what Zukin calls the symbolic economy of the city (Zukin, 1996a). One of the central arguments of many scholars is that competition between coexisting urban imaginaries does not take place on an even playing field.

Greenberg, for example, observes that city brands reproduce the urban imaginary of an entrepreneurial middle class, which is in control of the media of representation. City brands, argues Greenberg, produce "a monolithic, consumer-oriented version of the urban imaginary [… which is based on] the permanent, physical, even violent transformation and commodification of both things and living beings" (Greenberg, 2000: 229). Thus, the transformation of the multiplicity of voices into a coherent symbolic imaginary is understood as the imposition of one group of actors on the others by means of the economic and politic capitals possessed by a social group. In my view, this approach is based on a 'zero-sum game' conception of the symbolic landscape of the city, so that the gains of one group need to be compensated by losses on the other. It is as if the urban imaginary has a limited space and no multiple layers of meaning are possible. I would like to argue that even though such approaches undoubtedly touch upon critical areas within branding, they resolve the question of how 'translation' takes place too easily.

A second solution to the question of how destinations become coherent entities can be extrapolated from the early works of ANT. The sociology of translation developed by Callon (1986) investigates how networks of human and non-human actors become visible to each other, communicate their interests and intentions and construct alliances and associations. In this context, the concept of translation describes the process by which an actor or a group of actors can become indispensable to others, produces definitions of other actors' identities and also positions itself as a spokesman of others:

> "To translate is also to express in one's own language what others say and want, why they act in the way they do and how they associate with each other: it is to establish oneself as a spokesman. At the end of the process, if it is successful, only voices speaking in unison will be heard" (Callon, 1986: 232).

In this manner, the sociology of translation describes how actors that are separate from each other, become unified or brought in relation in an intelligible manner by a discourse produced by a spokesman. Such an approach differs from the latter in one important respect: it

substitutes a relational understanding of power for a hierarchical concept, denying that power is something held by one group and exerted over another (Foucault, 1979; Law, 1992b).

However, the transformation of hybrid collectives into coherent voices speaking in unison is understood as a process of black-boxing which takes place around one particular actor, as in the symbolic economy approach. Thus, by becoming spokesman or, more precisely, centre of translation, this actor would be "kind of "funnelling"– reframing or mediating the concerns of several actors into a narrower passage point" (Star and Griesemer, 1998: 507). While such an approach might prove adequate for the study of controversies and how they are settled, it results rather inadequate to equate destinations with the translation produced by one particular actor. Indeed, as John Law has suggested, by looking for centres of translations, the analyst would collude with the actors trying to impose their translations, such as city marketers or the entrepreneurial urban middle class in the branding of destinations, reproducing thus in the analysis the differences that sustain their positions of power.

Taking into consideration these points, Star and Griesemer have proposed a more symmetrical view that highlights the coexistence of multiple sets of translations. Their case-study is a research museum where different actors have diametrically different understandings of what the museum's collection is. In order to understand how 'multiple objects' are stabilized in contexts of heterogeneous and complex institutional ecologies, these authors propose understanding the museum as a 'boundary-object', which is "plastic enough to adapt to local needs and constraints of several parties employing them, yet robust enough to maintain identity across sites" (Star and Griesemer, 1998: 509). This understanding provides thus a third solution to the problem of maintaining coherence in diverse intersecting social worlds. Interestingly, it follows that, as boundary-objects, virtual objects are not translated by one actor and imposed on the rest, but stabilized in a third space between the actors. One of the most classic examples of such a third space is provided by Michel Serres in his book on the parasite:

> "A ball is not an ordinary object, for it is what it is only if a subject holds it. Over there, on the ground, it is nothing; it is stupid; it has no meaning, no function and no value. Ball isn't played alone. Let us consider the one who holds it. If he makes it move around him, he is awkward, a bad player. The ball isn't there for the body; the exact contrary is true: the body is the object of the ball; the subject moves around this sun […] Playing is nothing else but making oneself the attribute of the ball as substance" (Serres, 2007: 225-226).

Another ethnographical analysis of this third position is the description of the status of babies in neonatal units (Brown and Middleton, 2005). The baby, argue these authors, constitutes a virtual object around which the whole network revolves. The practices and identities of doctors, technicians, counsellors, parents, paediatricians, and nurses are defined by the relationships they maintain with the neonate:

> "The neonate is what everything refers to. It is also the medium, the grounds upon which all other relations are premised. The relationship between members in the unit is derived from their joint positioning with regard to the baby" (Brown and Middleton, 2005: 708).

In my view, the understanding of virtual objects as constituted in a third space provides a substantial theoretical basis to understand how powerful the destination can become for urban tourism. The destination becomes thus a third party, holding together the complex and heterogeneous networks of actors of urban tourism. But how can this third party be apprehended? As Brown and Middleton argue, the third party is too important to be considered an object. They speak of the baby as a Serresian quasi-object which "is defined by the kinds of passages it undergoes and the effects it produces on the subjects and objects around it" (Brown and Middleton, 2005: 710). Its identity is therefore rather formal. The coherence and identity of the third party is based on its capacity to functionally adapt itself to the positions of multiple actors and, nevertheless, maintain their form. Brown and Middleton therefore, consider appropriate to describe the identity and position of the baby as 'functional blankness':

> "The baby is not an actor like any other […] No, the baby is different because it is the blankest thing in the network, it is the virtual object which appears to offer the greatest potential to be rendered up or made actual in innumerable different ways" (Brown and Middleton, 2005: 713).

The virtual object is thus equivalent to the figure of the empty signifier within sign languages, with the difference that an extended semiotics is necessary to analyse its position within assemblages of heterogeneous entities. In any case, the 'empty' or 'floating' signifier of traditional semiotics is understood as almost completely devoid of specific meaning: "it is a signifier without a signified" (Zizek in Staeheli, 2000: 60), or with a so vague, variable and unspecifiable meaning that it can assume multiple values. As a sign that is not a sign, the empty signifier interrupts the relational chains of reference that define signs and undermine

the very idea of a sign as a fixed difference. Its paradoxical function consists in the introduction of an imaginary unity which is however empty of meaning.

Similarly, the way that the notion of virtual object is positioned in a third space, cutting through the network and defining the positions and identities of the other implicated elements, suggests that virtual objects (babies in neonatal units, balls in rugby games or destinations in urban tourism) occupy the position of a 'value zero'. In the critique of Marcel Mauss's analysis of exchange rituals by Claude Lévi-Strauss, this notion of value zero is understood to be the condition of possibility of a social structure. Lévi-Strauss criticizes Mauss's analytical partition of exchange structures into three independent elements (to give, to receive and to give back) for not considering what holds the exchange process together. He points to the constitutive role of the *mana*; a peculiar and dangerous substance that encloses the exchanged objects, but cannot be defined or fixed as pertaining to any element of the exchange. The *mana*, argues Lévi-Strauss, is not a local particularity, but a universal invariable:

> "[…] always and everywhere, those types of notions, somewhat like algebraic symbols, occur to represent an indeterminate value of signification, in itself devoid of meaning and thus susceptible of receiving any meaning at all" (Lévi-Strauss, 1997: 59).

The *mana* appears thus not only as an empty signifier providing an imaginary unity for the exchange process, but also – and this is the point made by Lévi-Strauss – as a symbolic value zero defining a horizon where exchange can take place. The value zero constitutes thus the condition of possibility for the structural unity of exchange and cannot be located in any fixed position. Rather it circulates within the structure making the exchange possible.

Destinations as virtual objects are nothing but the *mana* of urban tourism. They can be understood as plastic entities capable of keeping the network together despite the different understandings prevalent among city marketers, hotel keepers, taxi-drivers, tourists, tourist guides, city-residents, and many others parties. Indeed, destinations resemble boundary-objects in all four senses of the concept given by Star and Griesemer (1998: 518-519). First, destinations constitute repositories or 'piles' of objects e.g. sights, attractions, services, which are indexed in a standardized fashion. Second, destinations can be understood as ideal types of themselves, since they do not reflect their own internal details and contradictions. Third, destinations emerge as objects having 'coincident boundaries' with different contents for different parties. Fourth, destinations constitute standardized forms, in the sense that they

constitute standardized indexes that permit local uncertainties to diminish. As the ball defines the nature of players, referees, goals, spectators, and rugby fields, destinations become powerful virtual objects articulating the positions, identities and relations between the human and non-human elements of urban tourism. Tourists, buildings, streets, neighbourhoods, monuments, restaurants, hotels, tour guides, bicycle tours, memorials, bus tours, and other heterogeneous elements can be understood as positions and modes of activity opened up by the destination.

The destination emerges as a new entity liberated from its constituent parts or, better, a new realm of reality that cannot be reduced to any particular actor. Indeed, from the perspective of actors it resembles an 'empty signifier', attaining different meanings in different contexts. Its constitutive role for urban tourism relies precisely on such plasticity. The destination is constantly circulating in all stages, among all parties and between all stakeholders. It corresponds therefore to the value zero of urban tourism, fulfilling an enabling and generative function. Indeed, urban tourism would be impossible without the destination.

This notion of virtual objects permits an understanding of how a destination emerges from heterogeneous and multiple sets of elements. There are however two problems. First, in the light of the poststructuralist radicalization of the thesis of the value zero, it is unclear how the destination as a virtual object, attains such an enabling power. Second, the figures of the empty signifier and the value zero still do not provide an adequate theoretical basis to describe how destinations cope with global standardization forces. I will address these two issues by introducing a different theoretical perspective into this account, the communication theory developed by Niklas Luhmann, which permits to understand the horizons of meaning opened up by the destination and the communication dynamics in which it is embedded and constituted.

2.2.2. Origins of the power of destinations

Derrida's deconstruction of Lévi-Strauss' structuralism focuses precisely on the thesis of the value zero and seeks to unveil the precarious nature of any kind of structure (Staeheli, 2000). The theoretical relevance of the constant circulation of *mana* is, for Derrida, that it reveals the existence of a surplus of signifiers that cannot be fixed to any structural core. Thus the concept of structure lacks a stable centre, and the notion of empty-signifier is extended to

most signifiers, which are now understood to be in constant circulation and not fixed. Derrida's concept of *différance* refers precisely to this "indefinite deferral of signifier to signified" (Derrida, 1978: 25). As Urs Staeheli (2000) explains, while for Lévi-Strauss the *mana* fulfils a specific enabling function, Derrida's generalization of the value zero to most elements of the structure, impedes thinking about any structure as an enclosed totality.

This suggests that the enabling position attributed to destinations as *mana* of urban tourism would not be such, for all elements of urban tourism would be circulating in a similar way through the structure simultaneously enabling each other. Indeed, according to Latour, all elements of the actor-network are in constant circulation and rather than occupying a fixed position, they are changing constantly. Accepting this does not imply, however, the abandonment of the idea that destinations are the third party of urban tourism, but the rexamination of the kind of virtue that constitutes virtual objects. If it is not by virtue of its value zero that a virtual object can hold the actor-network together, then what can turn virtual objects into an enabling and generative third party?

It follows from the Derridean deconstruction of structuralism and radicalization of the value zero that the 'functional blankness' of a virtual object is not absolute. In their analysis of the baby as virtual object, Brown and Middleton also mention moments when the baby is displaced from its position as third party. While in most situations the baby functions as value zero, there are critical moments (e.g. 'the child was responding, the child was trying physiologically') when 'hybrid agency' is attributed to the baby. The baby is at these moments suddenly a distinct entity capable of 'cutting the network' and becoming an agent of its own survival or death. Interestingly, in a previous version of their paper, Middleton and Brown (2002) ask themselves whether this attribution of strong agency to the baby is connected with a weakening of 'medical agency':

> "Could it be because of a strange inversion where 'medical agency' is very weak— doctors can't seem to arrive at a conclusion, they appear to parents as driven by the accountabilities in play and by professional loyalty —, where the agency of the child is paradoxically very strong — it appears 'outside' of sociality and driven by a pure will to live? Thus the stronger form of agency, the one which will settle circulating accountabilities and cut the network, is recognised in the child" (Middleton and Brown, 2002: 19).

The reference to 'medical agency' remained in that paper unspecified and was not included in the later version of the paper. Perhaps, the authors removed it, because they were implicitly recognizing that this unspecified 'medical agency' might somehow be a condition for the

functional blankness of the baby. Thus, when medical agency is weak, the baby loses its status as a virtual object and become agent of its own survival.

Considering medical agency as a condition for the capability of the baby to become a virtual object and acquire functional blankness, obliges a reconsideration of where its power to hold the network together comes from. Taking the example of the baby, I shall argue that functional blankness appears then to be only a consequence of the underlying capacity of the virtual object (the baby) to frame the inter-actions of all elements of the network in terms of a particular reference horizon (defined by the problem of health care). The baby might be enacted in multiple ways by different actors in and around the neonatal unit and indeed become the blankest thing in the network, but at all times it is a weak entity requiring health care. Agency might be differently distributed: while in most situations the assumption of medical agency prevails, critical situations might lead to an attribution of agency to the baby. In neither case, however, the actor-network of the neo-natal intensive care unit is cut into pieces. It always holds together around the problem of health care. From this perspective, it follows that the network is articulated by the baby, but not by virtue of its functional blankness, but by virtue of its capacity to call upon something external to the interactions and negotiations within the network or, better, by its capacity to open up a reference horizon constituted beyond the limits of the unit and articulated around the problem of health care. Thus, the power of the baby relies on its capacity to embody and thereby establish a solid alliance with such a horizon, which ultimately is what through the baby everything refers to.

The circulation of the destination through the elements of urban tourism can certainly be interrupted in critical situations when tourism stagnates or declines, undermining the blankness of the destination which can become the agent of its own decline. But in conditions where tourism at an urban locale grows, hotels, taxi-drivers, tourists, bus-tours, travel agencies, restaurants, theatres, city-marketing agencies, guidebooks, destination management organizations, and the large array of human and non human actors of urban tourism hold together by their common orientation to the destination as a virtual object. However, its capacity for circulating and articulating urban tourism is not a consequence of its functional blankness. It relies rather on its specific capacity for framing the inter-actions of all elements of urban tourism in terms of leisure travel, opening up a horizon of reference that surpass the limits of the network. Through the mutual reference to the destination, the whole network is thus embedded in a horizon structured around the issue of tourism and the touring/vacationing

distinction. Destinations remain then the *mana* of urban tourism, although not because they circulate within the network, but because they embed the whole network within a larger tourist horizon.

2.2.3. The distinctiveness of destinations

The theoretical move of integrating tourism as a reference horizon called up by the destination as virtual object, does explain how destinations become third parties articulating urban tourism but proves inadequate to resolve the second problem mentioned above, namely, the question of how destinations become unique and distinct entities. To understand how this is possible, I shall refer to Luhmann's communication theory, since it allows the tourist horizon of references opened up by the destination to be understood as a horizon constituted by a particular form of communication, tourist communication, on destinations.

This move does not imply a break with Serres' conception of the third party or, consequently, with ANT-inspired discussions of the virtual object, since for Serres (1996; 2007) communication is also constituted in an intermediate third space. It is information passing between points, being constantly translated and transformed, and never simply sent, transmitted and received. The originality of Serres' concept of communication relies in the constitutive role he gives to noise and interference as what maintains communication going on:

> "[C]ommunication is a sort of game played by two interlocutors that consider themselves united against phenomena of interference and confusion […] *To converse is to define a third and to seek to exclude it*; a successful communication is that *excluded third* […] Somewhere else we have called this third man *Demon*, a prosopeia of noise" (Serres, 1996: 45-46, transl. IF).[i]

Noise is thus a condition for communication to take place. Serres gives the example of handwriting, where the sources of noise are the infinite accidents and irregularities of the caligrams drawn by different hands. It is, then, the act of eliminating the noise that is "*condition of the apprehension of the abstract form* and, simultaneously, *condition of the successful communication*" (Serres, 1996: 48, transl. IF).[ii]

However, the total elimination of noise would involve the elimination of communication as relation:

> "Given, two stations and a channel. They exchange messages. If the relation succeeds, it is perfect, optimum, and immediate; it disappears as a relation. If it is there, if it exists, that means it has failed. It is only mediation. […] But perfect, successful, optimum communication no longer includes any mediation.

> And the canal disappears into immediacy […] There are channels, and thus there must be noise. No canal without noise" (Serres, 2007: 79).

Noise does not just interfere and therefore needs to be excluded, but is also included in the system as a "value of construction": "The couple noise-message is part of the system, and its relation is a good index of the operation and the age of the system" (Serres, 2007: 68). Indeed, the feast might be interrupted by the telephone ringing, but when it starts again the conditions of the feast have been changed. Noise introduces time, forms a more complex system with two different feasts and is a sign of an increase in complexity. From the perspective of the sender and the receiver, communication becomes thus a risky adventure in which not only signals can become noise, but worse, they can be translated into something different or unexpected. Communication takes place thus in a third space. Since it does not belong to and is not controlled by any of the speakers, it brings them together as interlocutors associated by playing the same game.

Serres' concepts of communication, noise and system have very much in common with Luhmann's theory (see Stenner, 2004; Wolfe, 2007). The theses of self-reference and self-reproduction of communication radicalize however the Serresian perspective, for whom the third space of communication is restricted to the noises and interferences introduced in the channels. Luhmann is indeed more radical. Differences, however, are based less on fundamental disagreements but more on a problem of perspectives. Serres describes communication from the perspective of the speakers. Communication opens up a third space, which –like a parasite- depends on the speakers, but carries on its own life. Serres' perspective is thus holistic and ecological, focusing on the relations between these two levels: communication can be noise for the sender, but noise can be information for the receiver. This ecological approach also prevails in ANT-inspired analyses of virtual objects as something new that emerges in the process translation and association between multiple and hybrid entities. Luhmann, on the contrary, describes communication as an emergent reality. Instead of focusing then on how this third space appears as an emergent property of a complex and hybrid ecology, he focuses directly on the patterns that structure the life of this parasite called communication: how it functions, how it reproduces and how it differentiates itself. With that move, Luhmann radically displaces the focus of inquiry from an ecological axis to a communicative axis[3]. From this perspective, the question is no longer how virtual objects

[3] Paul Stenner (2004) has proposed to articulate Serres' and Luhmann's perspectives in a similar way. He argues that the logic of the parasite and the logic of the paradox are simultaneously constitutive of systems, for while

emerge out of multiple and hybrid ecologies, but in the frameworks of which communicative processes are virtual objects embedded.

As I have shown, destinations can become powerful virtual objects on the basis of a solid alliance with a tourist horizon of reference which orientates the inter-actions of all human and nonhuman elements making urban tourism for a particular city. Such a horizon should be understood as constituted by chains of self-referential communication, which refer to the destination by means of a specific distinction. The destination does not just have the capacity to summon up a tourist horizon of reference, but is also shaped by definitions and distinctions produced by tourist communication.

It is important at this point to clearly distinguish this self-referential tourist communication from the sociotechnical associations and inter-actions constituting a particular destination. The basic difference I shall point out is that while actor-networks elaborate associations on the basis of aggregation, communication is structured on the basis of differences. Thus, while destinations as virtual objects hold together multiple and heterogeneous actors and turn them into assemblages, tourist communication operates and reproduces itself by means of distinctions. Thus, tourist communication communicates about destinations by means of distinctions that uniquely identify a particular destination from all other possible destinations[4]. In this manner, tourist communication on destinations is crucial for destinations to become *distinct* virtual objects.

Destinations can be then understood as virtual objects of tourist communication. Tourist communication following its own structures and codifications attributes to these virtual entities a certain coherence or identity. Correspondingly, it is not by virtue of its 'blankness', its capacity to function as an 'empty signifier', but by virtue of this capacity to call up tourist communication, that destinations acquire the power to hold the network together and frame the relations between all human and non human entities partaking in urban tourism. Destinations constitute, thus, emergent and relational effects of hybrid ecologies of objects, technologies and humans, but also of one particular form of communication about the

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the parasite unveils the ecological structural couplings of systems, paradoxes are constitutive of systemic self-referential closure.

[4] This does not mean that tourist communication occurs at a wider scale, including more than one destination. Indeed, the associations constituting tourist destinations include also many locales globally distributed.

world, namely, tourist communication. As virtual objects, they become distinct and unique entities as tourism communicates about them. They are a performative effect of tourist communication.

3. Assembling Berlin: Orderings of Destination Identity

This chapter explores tourist communication on the destination Berlin, focusing particularly on the identity attributed to the city in contemporary guidebooks. The main aim is to identify how Berlin is constituted as a distinct destination. The underlying theoretical problem –how tourist communication transforms cities into singular, coherent, and distinct destinations- has been covered extensively in the previous chapter. In this chapter, I propose to make two moves away from standard destination studies: firstly, to substitute the concept of 'ordering' for that of 'city-image' and, secondly, to use medial sources of empirical data instead human ones (1). I show also that tourist guidebooks constitute a central repository of orderings of destination identity, which need to be studied considering issues of intertextuality, multimediality and intermediality (2). The core of this chapter describes in the detail four orderings of Berlin's identity. I have labelled them the 'always-becoming city', the 'haunted city', the '*Berliner Luft*' and the 'green city on the water' using the key attributes guidebooks ascribe (3). Finally I consider how these orderings interact with each other and come together to produce a single, unique identity for the destination Berlin (4).

3.1. Reframing Destination Studies: From Images to Orderings

Destinations are usually researched in terms of images; i.e. sets of ideas and conceptions about a destination, comprising cognitive and evaluative components, individually or collectively held. While holistic definitions inspired in phenomenological approaches focus on the total impression –beliefs, ideas, feelings, expectations, recollections and sense of place (Selby, 2004b: 66-67)- that destinations make on persons, marketing-oriented image studies emphasize the relation between consumer and product in terms of awareness, attitude and expectations of holiday-makers. Despite slightly divergent conceptualizations of what images are, destination image studies are mostly carried out with two complementary emphases. On the one hand, there is a focus on tourists' mental images and their effect on the tourist decision-making process, the experience and levels of satisfaction and the activities and practices undertaken at the destination (for Berlin, see Fichtenau et al., 1999). On the other hand, many studies analyze the production of city-images by marketing agencies and municipal authorities and their effect on the processes of city-reimaging (for Berlin, see Cochrane and Jonas, 1999; Farías, 2005; Häußermann and Colomb, 2003; Neill, 2001). Findings usually tend to disregard the pervading influence of organic images produced by

autonomous agents which are usually more credible, penetrative and influential than "the deliberate (re)presentation and (re)configuration of a city's image" (Smith, 2005: 399).[1]

Most of these studies have designs that constrain their analytical potential and validity. One of the major problems is "an overemphasis on statistical analysis at the expense of eliciting images that are salient to consumers […] In particular, there is a poorly developed conceptualization of urban tourist experience, social groups and experience" (Selby, 2004b: 65). This weakness is connected with two other limitations. Firstly, images are understood as perceptual constructs –"how individuals order, rationalize and mould information about places" (Smith, 2005: 401)-, blending out conceptual and cultural aspects. As Rob Shields has argued, even though perceptual oriented image research highlights the subjective nature of place imagery, it is severely restricted by the way it generalizes from the individual to the social level (1991: 12). Secondly, these studies tend to focus on the static structure of the destination image, ignoring its dynamic nature and historical embeddedness.

A solution to these constraints given by some researchers involves studying city-images as conceptual constructs and semantic structures (e.g. Selby, 2004a; Smith, 2005). Such a move only partially resolves, in my view, the problems, since both conceptual constructs and semantics structures are still understood as representations or *ex-post* descriptions, having primarily a documentary function (Staeheli, 1998), overlooking their performative character. Indeed, the notion of destinations as virtual objects of tourist communication (Ch. 1) implies that destinations are essentially emergent and relational effects. Since this understanding makes the study of images somehow trivial, I shall propose reframing destination research in two major ways.

The *first move* is to introduce the notion of 'orderings' and substitute it for that of 'city-images'. This substitution entails a move toward post-representational perspectives, which stress the performative character of names, images, words and semantics, and their capacity of not just 're-imaging' (Cochrane and Jonas, 1999; Smith, 2005), but ordering and re-ordering urban destinations. The concept of ordering was proposed by John Law (1994) for the description of the materially heterogeneous processes involved in the continuous arranging and re-arranging of organizations. More generally, orderings are defined as "*fairly*

[1] Still, some authors argue that the increasing sophistication of city-marketing techniques leads to a blurring of the distinction between organic and induced imagery (see Selby 2004b).

regular patterns that may be usefully imputed for certain purposes to the recursive networks of the social" (1994: 83). They are embodied and performed patterns articulating human and non-human relations which can be discerned in social networks. It is important to emphasize that for Law these orderings do not *drive* complex hybrid networks, nor are they outside the networks, but are ways of talking about the patterns that shape those networks, of ascribing to them orderings for certain purposes. Law understands these orderings to be tools for sense-making and, literally, for ordering heterogeneous materials.

Orderings, explains Law in a later piece, are like Foucaldian mini-discourses or, even better, like discipline: "Discipline is […] about bodies. It is about architecture. It is about time. It is about texts. It is about sight. It is about furniture. And, finally, it is about the soul" (Law, 2001: 3). From this perspective, discursive and non-discursive achievements are always interdependent and simultaneously "subject to ordering and disordering" (Brown et al., 2001: 130). The concept of 'orderings' is based on the sense that a clear-cut distinction between language and things, discourse and materiality cannot be traced, since semantics do not only have material effects, but they are also inscribed in materialities and performed in practices. These latter points are part of the canon of the Actor-Network Theory upon which John Law is elaborating. In one of the foundational works of ANT, Latour and Woolgar pointed precisely to the idea that 'knowledge' is inscribed in papers and books, embodied in scientists and technicians, performed in talks, conferences, situations, etc. (Latour and Woolgar, 1986). Apart from this, Law argues that knowledge can also be understood as an ordering: "a process of 'heterogeneous engineering' in which bits and pieces from the social, the technical, the conceptual and the textual are fitted together" (Law, 1992b: 2). Following Law, orderings are not single monolithic strategies for organizing knowledge, a particular organization or a tourist destination. They are pluralistic. There is therefore no single key order, but multiple principles or strategies of ordering that may undermine or prop each other up.

Adrian Franklin has made the case for tourism as an ordering; i.e. as a way of "remaking the world anew as a touristic world; a world to be seen, felt, interpellated and traveled" (Franklin, 2004: 277). The orderings of tourism, he argues, concern not just humans. They are materially heterogeneous, linking a variety of objects, machines, texts, non-humans, bureaucracies, times, etc. Such tourist orderings of materialities and practices have 'ordering effects'. They produce and perform "new objects that cannot be known, that we cannot have access to, other than through the ordering that creates them" (Franklin, 2004: 279).

In my view, destinations are precisely one of these ordering effects, one of these new virtual objects. Such perspective reveals how different elements of the city are ordered together to produce a unique destination identity. Destination identities are thus inscribed in monuments, buildings and spaces, embodied in tourists, taxi drivers and guides, performed in sightseeing tours, walks and long queues. It is important to note that the concept of (urban) destination identity does not refer to any sort of substantial, unitary or pervasive asset or property intrinsic to a city. Such identities are rather effects produced by means of cultural techniques performed in societal spaces such as literature, tourism, mass media, pop culture, or history (Kaschuba, 2003b). While the production of identities is partially constrained by the question of plausibility, they also exhibit a certain obduracy, so that they remain relative unaltered even when information, stereotypes and attributes prove to be inaccurate or simply false (Kaschuba, 2003b). Destination identity is, therefore, neither something cities have, i.e. something out-there or natural, nor something upon which individuals could agree. It is rather an effect of multiple tourist orderings.

The *second move* concerns the type of sources of empirical data necessary for investigating these orderings. The traditional focus on how tourists perceive destinations or, more accurately, on what tourists say about how they perceive and imagine destinations, turns out to be insufficient, if the research question understands destinations as discursive and non-discursive orderings. Apart from this, studies of tourists' images exhibit a chronic simplicity of empirical findings, usually consisting of lists of quite predictable attributes (Kohtes&Klewes, 1998). It is necessary to move towards more complex sources of empirical data in order to take account of the complexity of these orderings and of their processual character. One possibility explored in this research was to study travel agencies and travel agents[2]. Travel agencies, however, proved to be spaces where what is compared, traded and put into circulation is primarily prices, and not the identities of destinations. Indeed, specific and detailed information about Berlin provided by travel agents was purely casuistic and

[2] In autumn 2004, I asked friends and acquaintances living in 18 different cities in America and Europe to visit a travel agency and ask for information about Berlin. I asked them to present themselves as hesitating customers who wanted to travel to Berlin, but were not completely convinced of their choice. After visiting the travel agency, they had to fill up a semi-structured questionnaire reporting on their experience. I received 13 responses from the following cities: London, Paris, Grenoble, Amsterdam, Lausanne, Rome, Castellon (Spain), and Skopje in Europe; and Cornell, Miami, Caracas, Buenos Aires and Santiago de Chile in North and South America.

based on personal first-hand experiences, which in some cases would even lead to dissuasion. However, orderings of destination identity produced in conversations, such as those my informants had with travel agents, have little obduracy: "Thoughts are cheap but they don't last long, and speech lasts very little longer" (Law, 1992b: 6).

Obduracy, argues Law (2001), is achieved by means of very precise strategies oriented to stabilize orderings and make them endure. Firstly, orderings need to be inscribed in durable materials such as books, pictures, or buildings. Obduracy is however not simply assured by material delegation or inscription, but is a relational effect of ways of thinking and interacting, persistent traditions and sociotechnical embeddedness (cfr. Hommels, 2005). Secondly, inscriptions need to be made capable of moving through space without risking their unity. In this sense, Law suggests that "if durability is about ordering through time, then mobility is about ordering through space" (1992b: 6). Thirdly, obdurate orderings are usually associated with 'centres of calculation' (Latour, 1990). These are instances such as places, devices, texts or actors, where information and representations are created, collected, assembled, transcribed, simplified, and juxtaposed.

One promising alternative for the study of orderings of destination identity might be found in tourist guidebooks. They are made of durable materials and are involved in large networks of edition, distribution, and retail. They are also 'immutable mobiles' (Latour and Woolgar, 1986), objects that can be displaced, combined and manipulated without losing their unity. Last but not least, they can be understood as centres of calculation, not only reflecting the destination as a whole, but pre-forming human practices and heterogeneous materials.

3.2. Researching Guidebooks: Historical and Methodological Issues

The emergence of tourist guidebooks during the 19th century was central for the differentiation of the new 'gaze' (Urry, 1990), 'language' (Dann, 1996) or, as I suggest, 'form of communication' of modern tourism. John Murray III, considered to be the father of English guidebooks, argued in 1858 that guidebooks had hitherto basically consisted of either "general descriptions compiled by persons not acquainted with the spot [… or] local histories, written by residents who do not sufficiently discriminate what is peculiar to a place, and what is not worth seeing". In contrast, his new guidebooks would provide "matter-of-fact descriptions of what *ought to be seen* at each place […] without bewildering its readers with an account of all that *may* be seen" (both quotes in Koshar, 1998: 323). As these new

guidebooks were being created, the new social groups on tour, who were mostly members of the socially rising educated and industrial middle classes of England and Germany, needed to organize their time and travels in the most efficient ways. Direct language, unequivocal indications, precision, and historical accuracy were necessary to compensate for the uncertainties of travel and the multiplicity of versions and meanings attributed to sights of interest. Unlike aristocratic travellers on the Grand Tour, this well-to-do audience focused on "what *ought* to be seen rather than what *could* be seen" (Koshar 1998: 326). This requirement was met, for example, by the asterisks-system popularized by the German Baedeker guidebooks in the mid-19th century.

City guidebooks also have their origins in the handbooks to cities written for strangers and immigrants. These guidebooks sought to provide useful knowledge to assure the rapid and unproblematic integration of their owners into the city life, teaching them how to avoid the menaces and temptations of the modern city. New York City guidebooks written before 1830, for example, correspond to this kind of 'resource guides'. These sought to explain the complexity of the city, its resources, wealth, institutional design, cultural life, routines and the habits of its population (Marx 1983 in Michalski, 2004). During the 19th century, guidebooks to North American cities became increasingly guidebooks for tourists or 'experiential guides' offering a more picturesque and interpretive description of the city (Marx 1983 in Michalski, 2004). In such guidebooks, practical information and instructions were not an attempt to ease social integration, but were helping "to create the tourist as a distinct social type and tourism as a social practice", so that even visitors with limited financial resources, unable to hire a local guide and or without contacts in the city, could enjoy the city as "a site of leisure safely distant from the anxieties and obligations of everyday life" (both quotes in Cocks, 2001: 144).

Apart from their historical centrality for urban tourism, there are at least three further reasons to look to tourist guidebooks for orderings of destination identity. Firstly, tourist guidebooks imply comprehensiveness. They present themselves as containing all the information necessary for travel; not only what *ought* to be seen, but also all the domestic issues that ought to be known. Secondly, tourist guidebooks deal with issues of identity, offering 'something more' than just packaged and commodified attractions. Cocks (2001) argues that 19th century guidebooks to North American cities elaborated a 'moral economy of the new city', transforming city history into a history of socialization and acquiring an identity, and seeking in the urban space a reflection of this identity. Michalski (2004) stresses

their role as 'portals to metropolis' textually and visually assembling the urban experience. Koshar (1998) observes how guidebooks to 19th-century Europe also reflect processes of nation-building. Focused on identity issues as they are, guidebooks are not just collections of attributes and adjectives, but rather repositories of complex orderings elaborated to grasp the uniqueness of the destination.

Lastly, and more importantly, tourist guidebooks constitute devices that serve to regulate and stabilize complex and unstable relations between expectations and practices, identity and space, semantics and materialities, words and worlds. On the one hand, guidebooks constitute autonomous devices, made out of words, images and maps, capable of producing meaning, spaces and identities on their own, so not needing to be 'in-place' to make sense. Prior to a visitor's departure, they serve to stabilize horizons of expectations and to reduce uncertainty about what is to be seen, done and felt. After the trip, they function as complex souvenirs recalling and organizing memories of the visit. On the other hand, they are designed to be used in place even if they often prove difficult to use (Brown and Chalmers, 2003). They inform practices of travelling, touring, and sightseeing by indicating how to see, where to go and what to do. While they are not incontestable devices structuring tourist practices, they do open up worlds of practices and 'horizons of certainties and expectations' upon which actual practices are negotiated (Koshar, 2000). Guidebooks can also be observed as condensations or sedimentations of tourist practices and optics, contributing to the maintainance of the stability and coherence of an already assembled tourist sphere.

Before presenting the orderings of destination identity identified in contemporary guidebooks to Berlin, some methodological remarks need to be made. Guidebooks are indeed part of an 'intertextual documentary reality' that "does not rely on particular documents mirroring and reflecting social reality. Rather we can think of a semi-autonomous domain of documentary reality, in which documents reflect and refer (often implicitly) to other documents" (Atkinson and Coffey, 2004: 56). Such documentary intertextuality can be analysed by focusing on similarities and differences between texts, on information, formats, styles, etc. This chapter is based on the study of a considerable number of tourist guidebooks. The first sample included four very popular contemporary tourist guidebooks in German and English, namely, ADAC (2005), Baedeker (2005), Marco Polo pocket-edition (2005), and Lonely Planet (2002). In order to incorporate a temporal perspective, two further samples were made, including three guidebooks published between 1989 and 1991, and three

guidebooks published in the late 1990's[3]. Many other guidebooks were also included in the analysis in a less systematic way[4]. Despite such diachronic considerations, this research has a synchronic focus on the identity attributed to Berlin in tourist guidebooks since 1989.

Another methodological issue concerns the multimedia nature of guidebooks. Indeed, guidebooks are not just composed of written texts, but constitute a multimedia genre (Lemke, 1998) that heavily relies on visual representations such as maps, pictures, sketches and tables. As Lemke argues in the case of articles in natural sciences journals, "visual figures […] are generally not redundant with verbal Main Text information. They do not simply "illustrate" the verbal text, they add important or necessary information, they complement the Main Text, and in many cases they complete it" (Lemke, 1998: 18). Concretely, this means that the combined use of written texts with images and figures should be as much considered as narrative repertoires, tropes, and their relationships (van Dijk, 1993).

Orderings of destination identity are not produced uniquely by tourist guidebooks, but by practically every actor partaking of urban tourism. To consider issues of intermediality is therefore crucial to avoid analytical circularity: "It would be then circular to explain the particular texts on the grounds that they have been produced by [for example] this 'faithfulness discourse' if the texts themselves were the evidence for the existence of that discourse" (Antaki et al., 2003: 14). This shortcoming can be counteracted with triangulation techniques that, in this case, allowed comparing the orderings identified in guidebooks with those identified in guided-tours.

3.3. Tourist Berlin: Orderings of Destination Identity

Four main orderings of Berlin's identity have been identified. Each ordering has been labelled with a single concept, which functions as an umbrella for whole threads of narratives, sites,

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[3] Concretely, two editions of the guidebook *Berlin für junge Leute* published in 1990 and 1991 and the *Merian Besser Reisen* guidebook published some months before the fall of the Wall. For the second period, I took three very popular guides: *Marco Polo* pocket-edition (1998), *Lonely Planet* (2000) and *Berlitz* (1998).

[4] Among others: *Berlin im Fluss. Ein Architekturführer entlang der Spree* (2004); *Berlin: Open City. The city on exhibition* (2002); *Baedeker Berlin* (2002); *Humboldt Erlebnis Berlin* (1992); *Polyglott Berlin* (1991); *Merian Reiseführer Berlin* (1989-1982); *Berlitz Reiseführer Berlin* (1987); *Anders Reisen Berlin – Zitty* (1986); *Polyglott Berlin* (1976/1977); *Bertelsmann Reiseführer Berlin* (1972).

attractions, practices, and identities. These labels are the 'always-becoming city', the 'haunted city', the *Berliner Luft*, and the 'green city on the water'. The next sub-sections describe each of these orderings in detail. The final section discusses their synergies and tensions in assembling Berlin.

3.3.1. The Always-Becoming City

The most salient motif used in tourist guidebooks to depict Berlin's uniqueness portrays the city as immersed in a process of continuous transformation. At the core of this ordering is the idea that transformation is not really a process, but a condition, a way of being, the only way Berlin can be Berlin. This condition is also presented as a something very old, as an urban tradition, and the whole city history is then understood as characterised by incompletion. A recurrent trope, where these attributes crystallize, is the 'always-becoming city', which (re)appeared vigorously during the 1990s. Since then it has joined and probably contributed to the rise of Berlin as the third most visited urban destination in Europe. Indeed, stressing the processes of transformation was almost a natural consequence of the abrupt transformations for the city associated with the fall of the Wall. Not only did the social, political, economic and cultural history of Berlin changed suddenly, but additionally so its uniqueness as a tourist destination. This abrupt transformation can be tracked back in three guidebooks published at three different key moments of *die Wende*.

The first edition of the Merian short-guidebook to Berlin published in 1989, just a few months before the Wall came down, describes the city as a non self-evident place to visit:

> "A visit to Berlin, to a city that has neither the patina of Rome nor the 'savoir vivre' of Paris, neither the beauty of Lisbon nor the exotic appeal of Istanbul? […] What is there in Berlin to see? With its tradition and history it makes yet lesser sense than, say, Lübbeck or Leipzig. […] But this lack is compensated with the awakening presence of the Berliners, their quick intelligence, their curiosity about all currently occuring in their city. The present here is always more interesting than the past and nowhere else in Germany finds creativity in a more fruitful soil" (Merian Besser Reisen 1989: 3, transl. IF).[i]

The reasons and arguments put forward by guidebooks for visiting a place clearly reflect the way the destination's identity is ordered. In this case, positive aspects of Berlin are presented as a form of compensation for those attributes which the city lacks. The enumeration of cities where the traveller could have gone instead is a rhetorical strategy to highlight Berlin's uniqueness, charm and magnetism. But it is a risky strategy, likely to leave the impression that travelling to Berlin is not a compelling activity.

The fall of the Wall transformed Berlin into the hottest spot in Europe and the world, diametrically changing Berlin's appeal. Travelling to Berlin became in this new context self-evident:

> "In the year 1990 Berlin is surely the most fascinating place in Europe. Here we can experience skin-deep the profound societal changes [*Umwälzungen*] taking place in Germany and Europe" (Berlin für junge Leute 1990: 9, transl. IF).[ii]

The career of contemporary Berlin as a tourist destination began thus with a strong focus on the profound transformations that were being experienced across the city, particularly in the Eastern Sector. Such an emphasis expressed a predominantly West German perspective on the fall of the Wall, evident, for example, in a flip-book sequence (See Figure 2.1.).

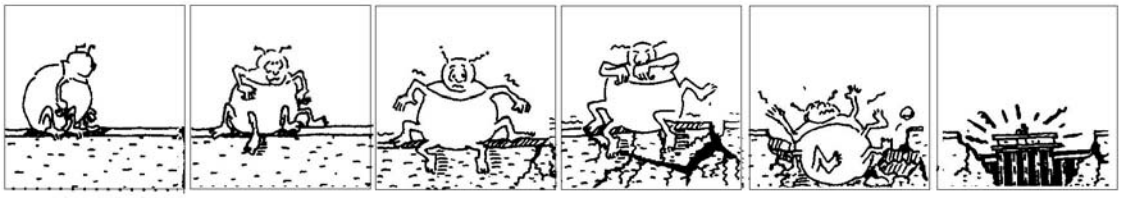

Figure 2.1. Flip-book sequence (Berlin für junge Leute 1990)

Berlin's unique appeal was seen in the fact "Berlin (West) is the only city […] that will be directly reunified with a part of the GDR, with East Berlin" (Berlin für junge Leute 1990: 13, transl. IF)[iii] and constitute(d) therefore a unique place where "[…] it is possible to experience skin-deep the historical transformations of the GDR" (Berlin für junge Leute 1990: 38, transl. IF).[iv] Interestingly, such emphasis reflects a predominantly West German notion of the reunification as a process that foresaw radical transformations in East Germany and practically none in West Germany. Such a position, which finally prevailed, pleaded for an annexation of East Germany to West Germany and against a fusion of the two German states as actually foreseen in the Federal German Republic constitution (Glaeser, 2002). The West German perspective of the guide was thus not just visual, but also highly political, since it implied that East Germany had to catch up with West Germany and that Berlin was the best place to observe such transformations:

> "The desert lives. In Berlin (East) many things are different [...] And whoever knows the GDR from previous visits will be surprised to see how relaxed and non-bureaucratic it is today" (Berlin für junge Leute 1990: 38, transl. IF).[v]

The focus on the transformations unleashed by *die Wende* did not just render the experience of touring Berlin into an adventure through the exotic East, but also into a form of

'event-tourism'. National and international visitors were compelled to come to Berlin by the uniqueness of the *events* that were taking place in the city. The *Wende* was treated as a world event that made Berlin the most fascinating place of 1990, but with a relative short attraction-cycle. Indeed, the formation of the major tourism and city marketing agencies –the Berlin Tourismus Marketing GmbH in 1992 and Parner für Berlin in 1994 (today BerlinPartner)- was based on a similar diagnosis that noted a definite loss of the hitherto most salient city images and the need to create new city-images and a new destination identity (see Ch. 8).

The 1991 edition of the same guidebook, published some months after the official decision to move the German Parliament and Government to Berlin was made, exhibits a surprisingly new perspective on the city. The editors kept the same format, general structure, design and practically all attractions, tips, texts, directions and maps of the previous edition. However, the introduction of slight changes permitted the complete re-ordering of Berlin's identity. Perhaps one of the most subtle, but at the same time radical re-orderings concerns the kind of transformations that Berlin was undergoing. Indeed, the key word remained "transformations", but the meaning associated with it changed drastically in at least three ways. Firstly, Berlin was no longer presented as the place where transformations in the post-communist society could be observed and experienced, but rather as a city that was being transformed into the new German capital. The 1991 edition removed all references to transformations of East Berlin, abandoning the practice of constantly distinguishing with parentheses between Berlin (East) and (West), and certainly changing the flip-book sequence. Secondly, the temporal axis of the transformations was changed from the present to the future. There was a shift from the transformations that had taken place in East Berlin to the transformations that Berlin as a whole would undergo. Thirdly, the focus moved from the 'event' *Wende* to the 'process' of the reunification of Germany:

> "Given its geopolitical situation, its destiny is to be a forum for the spiritual approach and for the strengthening and further development of democratic structures in the growing together [*zusammenwachsenden*] of Europe" (Berlin für junge Leute 1991: 5, transl. IF).[vi]
>
> "We invite all those coming here with study groups to occupy themselves with the past, the present and the exciting perspectives of a metropolis taking off" (Berlin für junge Leute 1991: 5, transl. IF).[vii]

Berlin became thus a new, integrated and coherent entity defined by its future transformations. New concepts appeared, such as metropolis taking off [*Metropole im Aufbruch*], which invoked the idea of a metropolis awakening, arousing and breaking-up. A new emphasis was also put on the idea that Berlin was the only city where it was possible to

experience first hand the process of the growing together [*Zusammenwachsen*] of the two Germanys.

In many respects, the 1991 edition of the guidebook *Berlin für junge Leute* reflects a major ordering of Berlin's identity that has prevailed to this day. Indeed, towards the end of the 1990s guidebooks kept highlighting the unfinished socio-cultural transformations unleashed by the *Wende*, the reunification of Germany and the construction of Berlin as German capital as the key features of Berlin's uniqueness. However, guidebooks focused then not only on the chances, but also on the difficulties of the process of *Zusammenwachsen*:

> "When a divided nation [*Volk*] suddenly becomes one nation again out of two different economic systems, conflicts are unavoidable. Until the point comes when what "belongs together" "grows together", as Willy Brandt said, some time will pass, lots of money must be invested and good will exercised" (Berlitz 1998: 8, transl. IF).[viii]

By the late 1990s travelling to Berlin was to a great extent about experiencing that reunification was far from over and learning that the differences derived from the past were not going to dissolve in time. Such emphases were not to be found in guidebooks of the early 1990s. These tended to point optimistically to the impending transformations.

Another subtle, but significant change in the perspective on Berlin's transformations that occurred at the end of the 1990's undermined the idea of a new start or birth, stressing rather ideas of constant movement and flow. Berlin's attractiveness had thus less to do with the 'take-off of a metropolis' and more with a 'city in deep-transition' [*Stadt im Umbruch*] with an open and unpredictable future.

> "With the reunification, Berlin, like no other metropolis in history, has been given the chance –and the challenge- to remake itself following in its own modern perception of what it should be. By comparison, other global hubs like Paris, London and Tokyo, are finished products, whereas Berlin is a work in progress" (Lonely Planet 2000: 9).

Such a re-ordering of Berlin's identity has been at the root of the expansion of the trope of the 'always-becoming city', which has also become central for city-marketing, for representations of the city on film and in literature, etc.

In tourism, the 'always-becoming city' has become a central hermeneutic clue for reading, gleaning and making sense of contemporary Berlin. A variety of concepts and metaphors suggesting the idea of an 'always-becoming city', such as 'the always new city' [*Die immer neue Stadt*] or 'Berlin in flux' [*Berlin im Fluß*], proliferated within guidebooks as

titles, subtitles, and highlighted with bolds or cursives. Apart from this, the 'always-becoming city' can also be met in more general descriptions of the city spirit or character:

> "The one thing constant about Berlin is perpetual change. It's always 'becoming' something; it never simply 'is'. Energetic, individualistic, self-confident, decadent, tolerant, cutting edge and edgy, Berlin and its people share happily in a refusal to settle down. City planners may dream stability, but here the status is never quo for long" (Lonely Planet 2000: 9).
>
> "'There is one reason why you can prefer Berlin to other cities: because it has always changed itself'. Berltolt Brecht" (ADAC 2005: 6, transl. IF).[ix]

The reference to Bertolt Brecht shows that the transition from the idea of a 'metropolis taking off' to a 'city in deep-transition' [*Stadt im Umbruch*] is evocative. In fact, the 'always-becoming city' has a long history as a trope for the city. Its finest and most famous formulation was certainly conveyed by the German art historian and publicist Karl Scheffler in his piece *Berlin, ein Stadtschicksal* [Berlin, A City's Fate, 1910], where he wrote that 'Berlin is condemned to always become and never be' (transl. IF).[x] Scheffler's dictum reflected critically on the social and urban transformations of Berlin since 1871 when it became capital of Germany. Scheffler characterized pessimistically Berlin by the arrivisme of new upcoming social groups, its lack of urban identity and the absence of a city centre (Schwartz, 2003). Contemporary uses of Scheffler's dictum imply quite different things. City-boosters, for example, usually use Scheffler to celebrate the process of it becoming a capital city and as a plea for a clearly defined new city centre (Schwartz, 2003). City-marketing public-private partnerships, on the other hand, also make use of it to suggest that Berlin is finally becoming a New Berlin (Farías, 2005).

A similar tension between the idea of 'always-becoming' and that of 'coming into its own' can be traced in contemporary guidebooks, as Berlin's transformations are associated with the process of becoming capital of Germany.

> "Berlin […] is still in transition. The efforts being made over many years to design a representative capital are enormous. It is being built, restored and redeveloped" (Marco Polo 2005: 7, transl. IF).[xi]

Becoming the new capital city of a reunified Germany is to a great extent presented as an architectural project. In recent years, however, as the process of becoming capital is seen as having already transformed the city, a singular tension between being and becoming emerges:

> "So you're planning a little trip to Berlin? Good choice. Your timing could hardly be better […] A city in search of an identity since the Wall collapsed in 1989, the German capital is finally coming into its own. To be sure, change is still a constant here, but that's just what makes the place so endlessly

fascinating" (Lonely Planet 2002: 7).

Berlin is presented as having almost completed its transformation. The question about the timing of the visit becomes thus particularly relevant, for this finally 'coming into its own' may end up undermining Berlin's uniqueness. With a similar accent the guidebook Baedeker argues that "At last being the capital has its price" (Baedeker 2005: 15, transl. IF)[xii], equating the price of being capital city with the loss of its always-becoming character.

> "Since the move of the Federal Government Berlin is then also the administrative and economic centre. Whether the special flair of this city will be preserved will be seen. In any case it is an experiment" (ADAC 2005: 7, transl. IF).[xiii]

Even though guidebooks point critically to this 'finally coming into its own', the sense that Berlin's future is an open book, prevails. Indeed, flagship developments are often not interpreted as city boosters would like, namely as signs of an inminent New Berlin, but as symbols of this process of this always-becoming:

> "Will this Berlin, which since the Wall came down moulds itself into a capital city, ever be finished? Eventually there must be an end to sand, dust and stones, for glass and steel […] Berlin is as described since the beginning of the century: it becomes" (Baedecker 2005, transl. IF).[xiv]

For many, a final 'completion' of Berlin seems very improbable. "We will have to wait for at least 20 or 30 years" explained one of the tour guides I met during my fieldwork to its party, as he commented on the plans for re-building the Imperial Castle. Contemporary financial problems and the weakness of the economy of Berlin are often mentioned as factors impeding Berlin's consolidation at an international level.

Apart from political and economic considerations, it prevails the idea that 'becoming' is not really a process of historical transition from one historical period to another, but rather a condition, a state-of-being, which has impregnated the entire history of the city.

> "Our guide Scott says that we have to imagine the area where we are standing, Hackescher Markt, six years ago as full of ruins. This can help us to understand why Berlin is still being constructed, still in progress, becoming. Scott says that people ask whether Berlin will ever be. Then he says that this image of Berlin in a process of becoming is not new and not just associated to the decade after the fall of the Wall.
>
> He gives a short account of the history of Berlin in the 20th century to show that Berlin has always been in the process of becoming. He begins at the start of the century with the construction of Berlin as the new capital of Germany, a project that was unexpectedly interrupted as Germany lost the First World War. A second phase had started with the Weimar Republik, he continues. When it began, Germany was still doing very bad and was very poor as a consequence of

> the defeat. In those times 1 American dollar was equivalent to 1 billion German Marks.
>
> Germany recovered rapidly and by 1924 Berlin was already the capital of the Golden Years. Scott tells us that there was an exciting cultural life with active music and film industries, the cabarets, etc. and that Berlin was a liberal city, on its way to being a cultural capital. But then came the Nazis, who didn't like liberal culture at all. He recalls that the Nazis started a huge urban project for Berlin, wanting to transform the city into Germania, the capital of the German empire that was designed to last for a 1,000 years, but only lasted for 12 years.
>
> He then gives some figures for post-war Berlin: only 2.8 million people were living in Berlin, almost the half of the population, considering that 4 million lived there just before the Nazis came to power, and 70% of the city was destroyed. Then, there was the division of the city into individual sectors under the control of the Allies. Nowadays the city is again, like always, trying to become whole again, but, in his opinion, Berlin still doesn't really come together. Silence reigns in the group, while many look thoughtfully at the buildings surrounding us" (Fieldnotes, May 20, 2006).

The 'always-becoming city' ordering of destination identiy is mainly inscribed in the fabric of the city, defining new and singular tourist attractions. It is used predominantly, to highlight the physical and architectural transformations of the city since 1990. Architecture plays therefore a central role, embodying Berlin's condition of continuous transformation:

> "Berlin is a boom town: culturally, economically, touristically and politically – but it takes time. To merge it all in an expedient and compatible way and in the luckiest case, even aesthetically is the task of the century for urban planners and architects" (Marco Polo 1998: 7, transl. IF).[xv]

Berlin's new architecture is, in fact, one of the central motifs visually depicted in guidebooks. It encompasses not just the new buildings of the Governmental District, but also all main urban construction projects, from Potsdammer Platz and the new Main Station to the planned reconstruction of the Imperial Castle. The city is presented as being re-shaped by immense monumental buildings.

> "Architects from all over the world have left exciting traces, such as Helmuth Jahn with the Sony Center or Daniel Libeskind with the Jewish Museum in Kreuzberg. Cultural goods damaged by war, capital shortage and indifference, such as the Museum Island, are restored meticulously. Embassies of foreign countries have set a course with native materials, such as India, and with unique architectural languages, such as Mexico" (Baedeker 2005: 12, transl. IF).[xvi]

Berlin appears thus as a unique stage for seeing the most contemporary trends in architecture and works by the current top architects. These architectural transformations are presented as radically changing the city landscape and rapidly renewing the city. At the same time, Berlin's new architecture is presented as being harmoniously integrated into the urban landscape.

> "This is how many visitors see a city that ten years ago didn't exist this way and don't even notice it. For whether in Postdamer Platz or in Friedrichstrasse, the architects have succeded. The assimilating architecture of postmodernity has inserted itself perfectly into the city image and only a few smile at Berlin not having any skyscrapers. But even skyscrapers could still appear. At Alexanderplatz, for example, the last word has not been spoken" (Marco Polo 2005: 19-20, transl. IF).[xvii]

Such emphases on buildings and architecture are not new. Tourism has always mainly consisted of visiting and picturing buildings, castles, palaces, bridges, monuments, memorials, and other architectural works. The particularity of Berlin is, however, the association of the material solidity of architecture with the fluidity of Berlin's transformations. The emphasis on contemporary architecture over architectural heritage is also characteristic.

The introductory text of Lonely Planet's section on Berlin's architecture is symptomatic of this disregard for Berlin's architectural traditions. The guidebook explains that Berlin is 'essentially a creation of modern times' and that its 750 years of history is not reflected in its physical appearance. "Very little survives from the Middle Ages" and "the Renaissance period is even more poorly represented". The first architectural heyday of the late baroque period is belittled, restricting its significance to "self-crowned King Friedrich I's need to immortalize himself". The second great moment of Berlin's architecture that arrived with industrial architecture and modernism, flourishing in the 1920s is said to be "eradicated by the Nazis who favored architecture that was essentially a parody of neoclassicism". The contempt continues for the post Second World War architecture. In "East Berlin architects followed the 'bigger is better' maxim". On the other side of the Wall "putting a roof over people's heads" was for a long time a priority. Indeed, the attention paid to the city's architectural heritage mostly highlights the restoration work of old buildings and monuments that has taken place since the 1990s. In Berlin even heritage appears as something new[5].

> "Dozens of historic buildings are revitalized and –of course- filled with new contents as, for example, the Reichstag and the Palace of the Reichstag's president opposite. […] There is more substance available, as can be seen at first sight, for most had laid under the shadow of the Wall" (Marco Polo 1998: 10, transl. IF).[xviii]

[5] Heritage is new not just in the sense that it always takes place in the present; that memory is always in the present. Apart from this, it is new in the sense that it radically differs from the guidelines of heritage politics predominating in both, former East and West Germanies. Indeed, while the recovery and maintainance of the Prussian tradition and city image prevailed in Cold War East Berlin, its western counter-part was mainly occupied with the recovery of the history, urban traditions and architecture of the German nobility.

The restored *Reichstag* is a major example of this perspective (See Figures 2.2.-2.6). The history of the restoration of the Reichstag is narrated with references to two central events: firstly, the wrapping of the building carried out by the artist Christo in 1995, and secondly, the new dome designed by Sir Norman Foster. Its present function and such recent history displace the building's attractiveness from its heritage value, fostering a monumentality not derived from historical permanence. The wrapping of the Reichstag produced a kind of monumentality based on a transitory and ephemeral epiphany (Huyssen, 2002: 186). The dome has become a symbol of Berlin's new architectural languages based on the mixture of old structures and contemporary architecture. The Reichstag is not an isolated case as demonstrated by the Museuminsel, Pariser Platz, or even the non-existent Bauakademie (Bergdoll, 2005). Less attention is paid to the historical heritage than to the present act of the restoration and reconstruction of Berlin's vanished urban fabric.

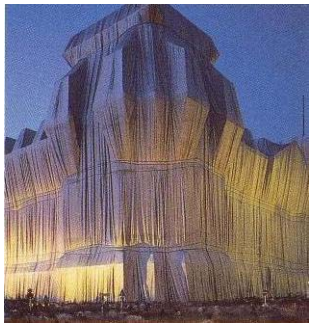

Figure 2.2. "The Reichstag had to wait 20 years for this nice dress – the spectacular wrapping took place in the summer of 1995" (ADAC 2005: 8, transl. IF).[xix]

Figure 2.3. Guidebook Cover (Marco Polo 2005)

Figure 2.4. Guidebook Cover (Baedeker 2005)

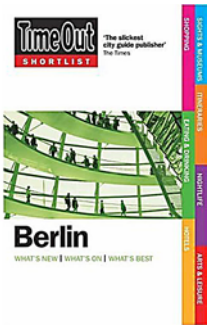

Figure 2.5. Guidebook Cover (Time Out 2005)

Figure 2.6. Guidebook Cover (Fodor 2005)

The 'always-becoming city' is also inscribed in another type of tourist attraction, namely, building sites. Commenting on the contribution of the film *Das Leben ist eine Baustelle* (1997, Germany, Wolfgang Becker) to the city image, it has been argued that "the building sites signalize the change, the transformation of the city. As the film protagonists, who are in a quest for the sense of life, so is also the city in a quest for a new image, a better cared-for façade" (Fichtenau et al., 1999: 77).[xx] This is also the way tourism communicates on the city building sites. Since 1995 the campaign *Berlin Schaustelle* of *Partner für Berlin* has been inviting visitors, tourists and Berliners to view and even to enter major building sites. The campaign was developed after the great success of the INFO-BOX in Potsdammer Platz; a huge red box that offered a viewing platform to observe the construction work and multimedia simulations of the virtual Berlin of the year 2002. During its early years it attracted around 5000 visitors per day (Huyssen, 2002). The campaign *Schaustelle Berlin* has also been very successful, guiding since 1995 more than 100,000 visitors annually through different building sites and new buildings. The last of these *Schaustellen* is situated since 2006 in front of the *Palast der Republik*, where a small viewing-platform has transformed the dismantling of the Palace into another tourist attraction.

The successful transformation of building sites into tourist attractions is, in fact, a very particular feature of Berlin. Writing in 1997, Andreas Huyssen argued that the decrease in tourist numbers during the middle 1990's was probably caused by the large numbers of construction sites, the noise, the dirt, the unavoidable traffic detours and jams that were transforming Berlin (Huyssen, 2002: 194). Whilst the amount of construction may have affected the travel decisions of certain groups of tourists, this decrease should be downplayed since it is based on the comparison of numbers of tourists immediately attracted by the world event of the 'fall of the Wall' and those visiting Berlin during the 1990s. One could rather think that the very idea that building sites would undermine the presence of tourists was a reaction to the novelty of the transformation of building sites into tourist attractions.

> "The change is visible all over; cynical tongues even affirm that Berlin had become the biggest building site in Europe; but it is being built first and foremost in order to meet the constantly increasing demand for offices and apartments. Furthermore the Reichstag […] will be the main seat of the complete German Government; the extension plans are correspondingly ambitious […] The Potsdamer Platz […] is a hot location for big companies. At the former frontier post Checkpoint Charlie an American "Business-Center" is supposed to arise; shopping malls have been built at the Friedrichstrasse and in the Eastern areas run-down rows of houses, fashion boutiques and Zeitgeist-cafes are being cleaned up" (Berlitz 1998: 9-10, transl. IF).[xxi]

Nowadays, it is clear that these were not cynical tongues, but the voices of tour guides, city marketers, city boosters, and even film makers, who saw in the building sites one of the most unique attractions of Berlin. Other cities have also transformed certain building sites into tourist attractions, as in the case of the Sagrada Familia in Barcelona, the monumental masterwork of Gaudí that is expected to be finished by the end of the 21st century. In the case of Berlin, however, building sites do not have the patina of the Sagrada Familia and are not part of a monumental time (Herzfeld, 1991). As with heritage, they are rather about the present.

Such a focus on the built environment transforms the city into an object of aesthetic contemplation. As Catherine Cocks (2001) argued for American cities at the turn of the 20th century, the focus on the physical city and on its materiality stripped the city of its social and political character and created a critical distance between the city and the visitors. In Berlin the case seems to be more radical, for the velocity of the transformations condemns tourism to be always belated. The Marco Polo guidebook suggests that "[i]n this situation it is almost a bit audacious to intend to write a guidebook to Berlin" (1998: 8).[xxii] Everything would be changing so fast that every tip, recommendation or description, could be out-dated instantly:

buildings can be built in unsuspected places; scenes and bars can move suddenly; neighbourhoods can become gentrified and expensive; new restaurants, new theatres, new museums, everything can change.

The velocity of Berlin's transformations would be so radical that the idea of an 'always-becoming city' would even lead to a separation of residents from the city, and not just tourists.

> "The speed at which Berlin changes, is breath-taking. New museums, streets, constructions make the city into a surprise box, also for locals […] Often even the Berliners do not recognize their city" (Marco Polo 2005: 19, transl. IF).[xxiii]

The idea that Berlin is waiting to be discovered not only by tourists but also its residents permits the description of both city residents and tourists as spectators of the transformations that take place in the urban landscape.

> "And you will feel just like many Berliners in their day-to-day experiences of their city: on your discovery tour […] you will be surprised by all that you still didn't know. Berlin is like a surprise present: enjoy unpacking!" (Marco Polo 2005: 11, transl. IF).[xxiv]

This equation is based on the assumption that the knowledge and familiarity with the city to which tourists can aspire, does not differ significantly from the knowledge and familiarity of permanent residents. Furthermore, the time tourists have for engaging in sightseeing and making their own discoveries (See Figure 2.7.) fosters and facilitates their integration into the city and, to a certain extent, makes the tourists into better city users than residents, who don't dispose of the necessary time to explore and "unpack" Berlin's identity.

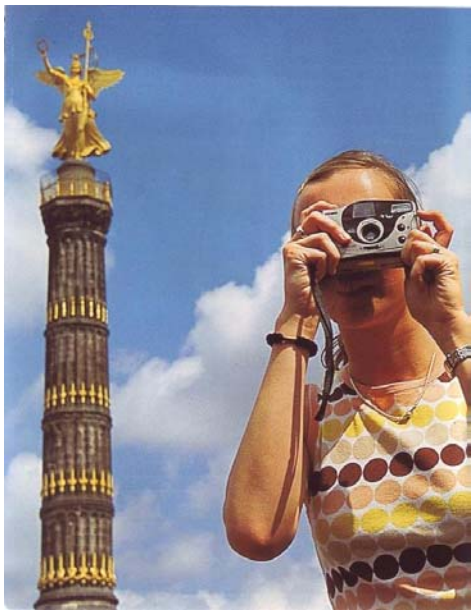

Figure 2.7. "Berlin is waiting to be discovered" (Baedeker 2005: 17, transl. IF).

At the same time, the 'always-becoming city' should make tourists want to return again and again. There will always be novelties and surprises for visitors regardless of the number of times they have been to Berlin.

> "The Berlin visitor is allowed to expect to see and to experience new things no matter whether he is coming for the first or the tenth time" (Baedecker 2005: 12, transl. IF).[xxv]

The 'always-becoming city' thus offers not just a compelling reason to visit Berlin, but above all a compelling reason to return to Berlin, making the visitor into a new kind of dweller, a sporadic dweller.

3.3.2. The Haunted City

Berlin's identity, history and geography is also performed, ordered and moulded with a focus on death, war, destruction, and division, producing an urban landscape in which the burdens of modern German history are inscribed in various forms including voids, memorials, and fragments. Such an ordering of Berlin's identity can be captured with the image of the 'haunted city', a city confronted with a ghosty past and disturbed by memories that cannot find a place to be remembered, or to be forgotten.

The image of the 'haunted city' comes from *The Ghosts of Berlin* (1997) by Brian Ladd, where he suggests that Berlin is a city where "calls for remembrance – and the calls for silence and forgetting- make all silence and all forgetting impossible, and they also make remembrance difficult" (Ladd, 1997: 1). The image is certainly suggestive and confronts the all-pervasive presence of problematic memories in Berlin's landscape, memories of the city as both perpetrator and victim of death, war and destruction.

The 'haunted city' is not an extended *tropos* within tourist guidebooks. Berlin is actually very seldom described in terms of phantoms or spirits and descriptions of Berlin's unique sense of place, if at all, only briefly mentions these dark memories. However, the ghosts of Berlin also haunt tourist texts as they can be read between the lines. Such a reading, however, has been facilitated by a triangulation with other kinds of empirical materials, mainly interviews with tourist guides, among whom the focus on the dark history of Berlin was much more evident:

> "Berlin is a city, this is very important for me, that has great difficulties with remembering in itself and often this topic, the difficulties to deal with memory, is an excellent key to history. And this is something that I use over and over, so

> that sometimes I do not begin with history, but with the present. I also would like to express how difficult it is here to handle an issue, an epoch or a building" (Interview with Peter Eichhorn, transl. IF).[xxvi]
>
> "Berlin has a lot of dark offerings […] the Third Reich, the Second World War and the oppression and I think there is a certain veiled voyeurism which tourists want to take advantage of, and that's why Sachenhausen Concentration Camp is very popular. People may not know really anything about the Holocaust, only in very vague general terms, but because of this voyeuristic dark appeal, they want to go there" (Interview with Francis Hartnett)

The sense of a 'haunted city' plays thus a central role in the definition of the destination's identity and atmosphere. It is not just associated with specific sites, but permeates the whole landscape, weaving together urban spaces and historical narratives, and articulating tourist practices and identities. However, the 'haunted city' is not explicitly praised in guidebooks. It resembles rather a 'sense' or 'white noise' associated with three main sets of haunting memories, namely, Berlin as the capital of the Third Reich, Berlin as the again-and-again-destroyed city, and Berlin as the divided city.

Contemporary tourist guidebooks highlight the historical role of Berlin as the political, bureaucratic and command centre of the crimes against humanity perpetrated by the Nazi regime, not just within Germany, but across Europe. Berlin is thus rendered into a central symbolic site to commemorate the Holocaust. Interestingly, tourist places of commemoration are mainly off-site locations, i.e. memorials, documentary centres and museums that refer to places of death, atrocity, and mass killing that took place elsewhere, whilst on-site places of memory, such as the Plotzensee or the Bendlerblock memorials, play a rather marginal role within the tourist landscape. The primacy of off-site locations is a consequence of the systematic removal of physical traces of the Nazi regime, particularly from the city centre, that took place from 1945 until the late 1990s. As the former head of the municipal archaeological office, Alfred Kernd'l, put it, "the throughout removal of above-ground traces of Hitler has made the search for Third Reich largely an archaeological one" (rephrased by Ladd, 1997: 133).

The most prominent contemporary tourist attractions of recent years, the Holocaust Memorial and the Jewish Museum, correspond to off-sites locations. Both places try to avoid the problem of how to represent the Holocaust, favouring architectural interventions in the urban landscape over artistic representation. Whilst the Jewish Museum is meant to be read between the lines, the architectural landscape of the Holocaust Memorial is meant to be inhabited, practiced and felt. Both places complement such architectural embodiments of

memory with documentary materials and concrete information about the Holocaust. The function of the collection of the Jewish Museum is precisely to document the history of the Jewish community in Berlin, while at the Holocaust Memorial the documentary centre situated underneath the memorial is meant "to back up the abstract form of remembrance inspired by the Memorial".[6]

The history of the construction of both sites was also closely intertwined with this 'haunted city' ordering. The Jewish Museum opened only in 2001, despite the fact that its design by the German Jewish architect Daniel Libeskind was approved in 1989 prior to the fall of the Wall. During the 1990's the museum had to resolve all kinds of political and financial resistance that was put up in the context of German reunification. However, as an imaginary place, as a site connected with public discussions, and as a building site, the Jewish Museum became part of Berlin's tourist landscape many years before its opening. In the case of the Holocaust Memorial this is even more salient. The second of three versions of the Memorial designed by the New York architect Peter Eisenman was finally built and opened to the public in 2005. This was thirteen years after the Federal Government had expressed its support for the initiative, after three design competitions, long and bitter discussions, the bankruptcy of the first construction company, among many other vicissitudes. The site reserved for the memorial was for many years prior to its opening a central landmark, indicated in tourist maps, visited by walking tours and commented on in tourist guidebooks. The attraction of this waste land lied in the complex knot of controversies connected with it; controversies that some guidebooks reconstructed in detail in order to convey the way Germany deals with its memories.

Other important tourist attractions of Third Reich Berlin are the bunker where Hitler hid during the last weeks of the war and finally committed suicide and the site where once stood the Reich's Chancellery in the old government district. Both places, associated with memories of the perpetrators, play a rather marginal role in Berlin's official landscape of memory. Hitler's bunker has in fact been wiped off the city landscape in order to prevent neo-Nazi pilgrimages. Despite this, the bunker is at the centre of the tourist imagination and, even though guidebooks do not mention it or locate it on a map, tour guides usually take their parties to the car park, playground and lawn under which Hitler's bunker is supposed to be.

[6] See http://www.stiftung-denkmal.de. Access: January 10, 2007.

Ladd explains that it is only in 1990 that the question about marking and acknowledging sites of perpetrators, like Hitler's chancellery or Göring's headquarters, became central. The rationale for this was that Germany "had to face up to its identity as the land of Nazis, not anti-Nazis" (Ladd, 1997: 153). This is particularly clear at the Topography of Terror (See Figure 2.8.), which constitutes one of the few places openly displaying the terror's physical embeddedness in Berlin.

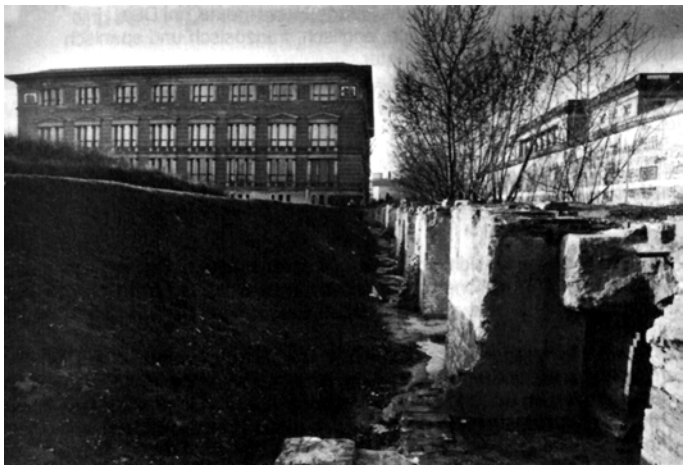

Figure 2.8. Topography of Terror (Merian 1989: 45)

The tourist enactment of Berlin as capital of the Third Reich capitalizes also on local memories of the rise of the Nazi movement in Berlin using the concrete locations where persecution, forced evictions, pogroms, crimes and other atrocities took place, such as the reconstructed Old Synagogue at Oranienburgerstrasse. Perhaps the most popular site with these memories, for tourists is Bebelplatz. Rather than commemorating the figure of August Bebel, co-founder of the SPD, the meaning of this site has been shaped by the events of May 10, 1933, when approximately 20,000 books vanished in the flames of the first Nazi official book burning 'Aktion' (see Ch. 8).

Berlin's haunted landscape is not just associated with Nazism. It is also presented as an accursed city condemned to be destroyed again and again: by the Nazis, by the bombs of 1945, by communist and modernist urbanism. The vanished buildings, the restored buildings, and the fact that many old buildings and monuments are not in their original positions are invoked as material and immaterial proofs of this destruction. Even those buildings and monuments that survived the 20th century without major damage are pointed to as clear symbols of the destruction of all what is around them. Whilst this destruction is not usually cited as a reason for visiting Berlin, it permeates all guidebooks' narratives. An 'authentic

Berlin' formed during seven hundred years of existence, shaped by the Medieval Berlin and fashioned by Imperial Berlin, is destroyed according to most of these descriptions. City history tends to be presented as a history of linear progress and organic transformation from a small commercial town into a very important European metropolis.

> "Berlin History until 1945. As Berlin was founded, other cities like Cologne and Paris were already 1300 years old […] It is then a relatively young city that only lately became important and a world city. Only after the foundation of the [Second] Reich in 1871, Berlin grew to a city of a million strong; by the outbread of the Second World War 4.3 million lived in the city. Today there are three million Berliners: two million in West Berlin, one million in East Berlin" (DTV Merian 1989: 31, transl. IF).[xxvii]

> "City history. It has grown from trading post at the Spreefurt to Prussian capital and, finally, to capital of the German Reich. With its ending, Berlin also nearly went down. After overcoming the divison, the city shines again" (Baedeker 2005: 24, transl. IF).[xxviii]

The Second World War and the bombs of 1945 mark the end point of this history even more so than Hitler's rise to power in 1933. Most descriptions of individual buildings and monuments are structured in terms of what happened before and after the War. The bombardment, on the other hand, is mostly presented as something that had no actors, as an event that occurred due to nature or fate. Correspondingly, no moaning or complaining are allowed in guidebooks despite the very widespread destruction.

A second source of destruction is identified in the urbanistic works of the years following the end of the War. Interestingly, Cold War guidebooks to West Berlin highlighted with enthusiastic undertones the impressive work of reconstruction of Berlin and framed these modernist transformations within a narrative of technical progress:

> "More than one sixth of the ruins and detritus to be found in Germany at the end of the Second World War was allotted to Berlin […] By now most of the debris in West Berlin has been cleared" (Polyglott 1976/77: 4, transl. IF).[xxix]

> "There are cities which remain with the tradition. This never applied to Berlin. Even those who know Berlin from former times will remember. In Berlin it was always about 'digging'. It was about digging. In 1855 the book-typographer Ernst Litfaß erected the first advertising pillars on all street corners, while in 1881 the first local telephone network was installed in the city […] Today Berlin is constructing the most modern and extensive inner-city motorway in all Germany. Berlin was and is a city that constantly rebuilds itself. All these metamorphoses and changes take place completely organically. They do belong to the natural rhythm of this city" (Bertelsmann 1972: 3, transl. IF).[xxx]

This modernist reconstruction celebrated in the 1970's made guidebooks of the 1980's complain about the "barbaric love for order of its politicians" (Merian Besser Reisen 1989: 3, transl. IF).[xxxi] During the 1980s many tourist guidebooks started to mourn a second wave of

destruction of the 'authentic Berlin', which took place on both sides of the Wall in the name of modernism. At the beginning of that decade modernism would still be described as a second-best path of urban transformation and as a clear sign that "at both sides prevails the determination to make the best out of the situation" (Berlitz Reiseführer 1982/83: 7, transl. IF).[xxxii] At the end of the decade criticism was much more open and categorical.

> "[The same destruction mania] connected the adversarial brothers in spite of all ideological and social differences […] What the bombs had reasonably spared, was unaffectedly torn down to make room for new buildings, whose geometrical lack of ideas and industrially standardised monotony revealed more about the planners' 'philantrophy' than they could deny" (DTV-Merian 1989: 23-24, transl. IF).[xxxiii]

Such critical undertones differ from contemporary accounts in that the alleged destruction of the 'authentic Berlin' in the Eastern part of the city was still understood as a consequence of modernism, not a consequence of communist ideology. Since reunification, communist architecture and urbanism has stopped being interpreted as a product of their time but as gravitatingly shaped by ideology. In fact, architectonic and urban decisions taken during the DDR-government have, since then, often been presented as radical and intended distortions of the old spirit and identity of Berlin derived from the ideological views of that government. This 'othering' of communist architecture and urbanism can also be encountered in the way communist restorations and reconstructions of Old Berlin's infrastructures and buildings are constantly silenced through passive grammatical descriptions such as 'buildings were restored'; 'monuments were returned to their original positions'; 'the palace recovered its original glamour'. On the other hand, restorations and reconstructions are explicitly attributed to the East German Government where the work is considered not to have been properly executed. In this context, reunification is seen as the force that saved Berlin from being utterly destroyed.

> "The collapse of the ruined SED-regime and the fall of the Wall happened just in time to be able to initially conserve and gradually restore much of it. Ten years later – and even more of it would have been irrecoverably lost" (Marco Polo 1998: 7, transl. IF).[xxxiv]

This reference to the Wall permits moving on to a third subset of memories haunting Berlin's landscape. Physical traces of the Wall and the divided city have practically vanished, leaving many of these memories without a material correlate. Despite this invisibility, the 'divided city' constitutes a central aspect of the tourist ordering of destination Berlin, articulating tourist narratives, practices, routes and images. This is something new. Actually,

it was the physical removal of the Wall what finally transformed the division it embodied into a central attribute of destination Berlin. Considering that the administrative division of the city was completed by 1946 and the Wall was erected in 1961, it is extraordinary that by the 1970's tourist guidebooks wouldn't highlight the Wall. This is not to say that the division of the city was not mentioned, but it was described as an obstacle rather than as an attraction to stare at and experience.

The division of the city was presented as an administrative obstacle above all and therefore information regarding necessary documents, exchange rates and similar tips had to be included in the guidebooks. Apart from this, tourist guidebooks ignored and, to a certain extent, tried to overcome the division. Entire Berlin guidebooks downplayed the centrality of the distinction between East and West. The Polyglott guidebook of 1976/77, for example, proposed 16 routes through different city areas and neighbourhoods, five of which were in East Berlin. An in-between page explaining administrative procedures and rules for a 'Visit to East Berlin' [*Besuch in Ost-Berlin*] separated these routes from the others, all of which were numbered serially from 1 to 16. A complete list of tourist attractions without differentiation between attractions of East and West Berlin confirmed the unitary character of Destination Berlin.

Indeed, it was not until the 1980's that guidebooks started to treat the division of the city as a constituent aspect of Berlin's identity.

> "Nowhere else can you tour two different worlds in one day – on foot if you like. One hour in the KaDeWe in Westberlin Wittenbergplatz and one hour in the Centrum-Warenhaus in Eastberlin Alexanderplatz- and you know more about market economy and state-directed economy than from any textbooks […] Berlin […] is like a surrealistic cage: 'them who are inside are free'. You can't get more precisely to the point Berlin's absurd situation. Berlin – it is anyway basically broken" (Besser Reisen 1989: 6, transl. IF).[xxxv]

During the 1980's guidebooks began to describe Berlin as an entity comprised of two radically different and even incompatible worlds. Such a sense of a divided city also became inscribed in the textual structures of tourist guidebooks. A very short guidebook (96 pp.) published by Merian in 1989, reduces its scope to West Berlin and dedicates only 5 pages to an 'Excursion to East Berlin' [*Ausflug nach Ost-Berlin*], severing "Berlin" from its Eastern counterpart.

Another example is the much longer guidebook (343 pp.) also published by Merian in 1989, which literally comprises two separate guidebooks, one for East Berlin and one for West Berlin, bound together as one book, but written by different authors. The division had made impossible a unitary tourist knowledge of the city. In such a context, visiting Berlin began to be mainly about experiencing the division inscribed by the Wall and about experiencing the partitioned city. You would now visit the Wall, take pictures of the graffitti, step up to viewing-platforms and look over the other side, observe watchtowers and guard houses, talk about the Wall, and take walks by the Wall (See Figures 2.9, 2.10., 2.11.).

Figure 2.9. "The collision of two worlds produced the Wall. The times made it banale. It belongs to the city image. One copes with it with biting humour and takes a walk at its side" (Berlitz 1987/8: 39, transl. IF).[xxxvi]

> "Berlin is a beaten-up, enclosed [*gebeutelte*] dimple and nervertheless a supremely lively city; the achievement of a mistake of the Allied powers, who believed they could actively continue their anti-Hitler-coalition even after Hitler. To catch sight of the consequences of this mistake might be perhaps the most impressive experience for Berlin visitors. The Wall through the city leaves nobody, who sees it for the first time, untouched" (Besser Reisen 1989: 15, transl. IF).[xxxvii]

Figure 2.10. "The Berlin Wall: used by West Berliners as an exhibition space for graffitti, propaganda and caricatures" (Besser Reisen 1989: 7, transl. IF).[xxxviii]

Figure 2.11. Back cover (Merian 1989).

The ultimate transformation of the divided city into a central tourist ordering of Berlin's identity occurred with the fall of the Wall. The collapse of the Soviet Bloc, the end of the Cold War, the beginning of a new era, and a radical turn in world history were all embodied and symbolized by one unique event: the fall of the Berlin Wall. Commenting on the 'strange kind of magic' that the Wall had during the days and months after November 9, 1989, Brian Ladd (1997) argues that since it was rapidly disappearing, the remaining pieces became kinds of 'holy relics' and, correspondingly, the souvenirs 'par excellence' of a visit to Berlin.

> "Whether genuine or not, nobody knows, framed or loose pieces of the Wall are still being sold, 'guaranteed' as being from the Berlin Wall. Years ago already the price of a genuine Wall piece –first a curse, subsequently a hot souvenir-

was supposedly about 25000€!" (ADAC 2005: 85, transl. IF).[xxxix]

The velocity with which the Wall vanished from the face of the city can be read about in a guidebook published a few months after the fall of the Wall that stated "Remnants of the Wall can *still* be seen today" (Berlin für junge Leute 1990: 155, transl. and emphasis IF).[xl] Indeed, those Wall sections that were not removed by Berliners and visitors with their own hands, were systematically removed by the city government during the following year, rapidly transforming the Wall into a mostly immaterial tourist attraction. As such, the Wall could only be indirectly seen and felt, in the traces and voids left behind, in museums, documentary centres and exhibitions.

The traces of where the Wall had been, began to rapidly disappear. Voids left by the death stripe were being rapidly filled up with big architectural projects, such as Potsdammer Platz, Pariser Platz or the Government District. The urban fabric of East Berlin, particularly certain neighbourhoods such as Mitte and Prenzlauer Berg, was extensively restored and renovated. By the end of the 1990s, the disappearance of the Wall started to be explicitly mentioned in tourist guidebooks, sometimes even with critical undertones.

> "Only few remnants of the Wall stand; ruins of a time long gone, like Ephesus or Cartago" (Marco Polo 1998: 7, transl. IF).[xli]

> "The vanished memorial, The Wall is away, but not forgotten. While small and large remnants of the Wall 'embellish' mantelpieces and museums, everything has been done in Berlin to wipe out its traces from the ground, if not from the memory" (Berlitz 1998: 24, transl. IF).[xlii]

Today, even though there are no clear or unequivocal traces of the division, the divided city is an important part of the tourist vision, an ordering that defines the way visitors see and experience the city. Since it can't be seen, the divided city has to be now gleaned in terms of its indirect consequences for the urban landscape. New techniques of visualization of the divided city emerge and become crucial. Tourist maps show increasingly today the line of the Wall. This was seldom found in guidebooks published just after the fall of the Wall. Reading the city as a landscape of the division requires focusing on small details that show the division, but which may not be obvious. Traces of the division are, for example, to be found in the existence of French music schools in Wedding or in the location patterns of the Turkish population within the city. Traces of the Wall are to be seen in the tram lines of the East and in the number of trees in the West.

"And also more than 400,000 street-trees have remained, planted to make

bearable being in the walled city" (Marco Polo 2005: 11, transl. IF).[xliii]

Evidently, rendering Berlin into a landscape of division does not occur on the basis of everyday knowledge, but on the basis of a particular tourist ordering of the destination identity. This has important consequences for the way tourists' and residents' identities are structured, for it makes them comparable in their lack of knowledge.

> "Where does the East properly begin or – where does it end? This is an issue that occupies even locals over and over. For a long time you needed no compass […] The Wall […] was a sufficient sign […] Today, over 15 years after the fall of the Wall, city visitors barely have a clue of what differences in the city image produced the different political systems" (Marco Polo 2005: 7, transl. IF).[xliv]

> "Of course the recent past has also left traces. Many young Berliners and visitors didn't see the division of the city with their own eyes. Memorials […] are therefore more important than ever" (Marco Polo 2005: 10, transl. IF).[xlv]

From this standpoint, the need for a material inscription of memories of division, particularly in the form of memorials, becomes equally relevant for both visitors and inhabitants. Moreover, since the Wall has vanished from everyday life contexts, locality is not seen anymore as containing a fund of social knowledge that would authorize residents to speak about the divided city. On the contrary, it seems that tourists, equipped with their maps, tourist guidebooks and allied with tour guides, have access to a privileged epistemological position to read and experience the divided city.

'Evil city, destroyed city, divided city' are the main sets of memories haunting the urban landscape of Berlin and articulating tourist spaces, narratives, and practices. In order to visualize the way in which this 'haunted city' operates, ordering Berlin's identity, it is important to remark that whilst it refers to significantly different historical events and processes, there is certainly continuity, if not homogeneity, within tourism. Such continuity can be seen in the confusions among some tourists, who for example, can't really understand why Hitler would have wanted to build a Wall. These 'confusions' should not be only attributed to a lack of historical knowledge of some tourist groups (particularly among those coming from the Latin countries of Europe and America, as well as from the Far East), but are also triggered by some similarities in the way in which these memories are dealt with in tourism.

Firstly, touring Berlin shows dramatically the extent to which memory is an operation that takes place in the present. Very often, heritage tourism, urban tourism and other forms of

tourism tend to blend this crucial characteristic of memory. In Berlin this is not the case. Touring Berlin along the lines of the 'haunted-city' is mostly about the present pasts, the complicated ways the past intermingles with the present, the ways in which such history is simultaneously present and absent, and about the knots of contemporary controversies associated to unresolved pasts. Indeed, the attraction of Berlin as a tourist destination is not based on the presentation of Berlin as a historical city, but rather on its identity as a city where history is an open issue.

Secondly, there is a relative lack of material and physical traces for all these haunting memories. The 'haunted city' refers to memories that cannot be seen and memories that require intensive visualization and imagination. Indeed, 'the evil city, the destroyed city and the divided city' appear also to local residents as invisible and unreachable as to tourists. Moreover, since the 'haunted city' can only be enacted by means of performances and narratives, such as those predominant in tourism, tourists even acquire a sort of epistemological priority over locals.

Thirdly, these memories are united too in the kind of tourism they generate. Dark tourism is a concept to describe "the phenomenon which encompasses the presentation and consumption (by visitors) of real and commodified death and disaster sites" (Foley and Lennon, 1996: 198). However, dark tourism in Berlin is not about some specific dark attractions, but about an atmosphere (created from presences and absences) that permeates the destination throughout. Darkness thus becomes an attribute of the destination overarching landscape and is not inscribed just in a collection of places. Correspondingly, dark experiences become somehow less intense than when concentrated in one particular site. Thus, the 'haunted city' might be rather understood as connected with a form of light-dark tourism.

3.3.3. The Berliner Luft

Contemporary guidebooks enact another way of ordering images, places, and people when they describe the social and cultural life of Berlin and attempt to convey a sense of daily life, the character of its residents, scenes and institutions. The diverse aspects of Berlin's urbanity depicted in tourist guidebooks portray a common urban culture shaped by the principles of tolerance and freedom. Often this urban culture and flair is captured with the words *Berliner*

Luft (Berlin's air). The on-line encyclopaedia Wikipedia, describes it clearly: "The Berlin's air is considered a synonymous for the social and cultural climate in the city of Berlin" (Access: 11. December 2006).[xlvi] The expression *Berliner Luft* also conveys a positive evaluation and empathy for the city's life. Such positive and enthusiastic undertones stem in part from the song 'Berliner Luft, Luft Luft' composed by Paul Linke in 1904 for his operetta Frau Luna:

> "This is the Berliner Luft, / with its lovely fragrance, / where seldom something deflagrates / in the fragrance / of this Luft. Yes, yes, yes / […] / The real Berliner gives himself off / hospitable and moderate. / Hence he is loved all around / and everyone likes him. / While otherwise one says "I dont give a..." [„Mir kann keener"] / he says at any rate / if not pleased / he says softly: "I don't give a..." [„Mir könn' se alle"]. / Yes yes! Yes yes! / This is the Berliner Luft, [...]"[xlvii]

In these verses the *Berliner Luft* is celebrated with laughter, joy and enthusiasm, articulating a positive presentation of Berlin and Berliners, who are portrayed as free, lovely, attractive, shrewd, and open minded people. On the other hand, the old German saying *Die Stadtluft macht frei*[7] reverberates throughout the expression *Berliner Luft*, contributing to its positive resonance.

The way in which contemporary guidebooks introduce the *Berliner Luft* into their descriptions of the city are, indeed, full of enthusiastic undertones and pretty much atuned to ideas of civic freedom and metropolitan tolerance.

> "Berlin is more a continent than a city", thus spoke the poet Jean Paul [...] Already by that time, Berlin was unlike other German cities. A metropolis of European standing. A city that attested to Schiller's 'informality in bourgeois life'; a small location though that even over 200 years ago demanded assertiveness. […] In Berlin everyone can be happy in their own way – the old Fritz knew this already. And the famous 'Berliner Luft, Luft, Luft' is anyway super!" (ADAC 2005: 7, transl. IF).[xlviii]

A common historical reference made in guidebooks to explain the Berliner Luft is a quotation attributed to the Prussian King Frederic the Great in response to the question whether Catholic schools should be closed down. He said, "All religions must be tolerated and the Governor [Fiscal] must only keep an eye to make sure that nobody harms anybody else, for here everyone must be happy in their own way" (www.wikiquote.de: Access 11 Dec. 2006, transl.

[7] Literally: "The city air makes free". In the German medieval cities there was a juridical custom that after one year and one day of living (and usually hiding) in the city, servants and other individuals obligated to medieval masters were liberated from their obligations, becoming free citizens. References to the *Berliner Luft* do in fact play with this association between city air and freedom.

IF).[xlix] Contemporary Berlin's socio-cultural landscapes are described in tourist guidebooks as the ultimate manifestation of this idea that everyone can be happy in their own way.[8].

A feature of these landscapes, directly associated with the *Berliner Luft*, is a characteristic attributed to 'authentic Berliners', the so-called *Berliner Schnauze*. Most tourist guidebooks and guided tours go into great detail about the figure of the Berliner and describe meticulously this main trait.

> "Berliners do not speak, as usually stated, a local slang, a messed up standard German. Rather Berlinerisch is a proper vernacular, a naturally-grown dialect. […] Generally, the Berliner attests in his own language his adorable attributes: quick-wittedness, humour, wittiness, tendency to scepticism, critique and irony. He has a 'snout with heart'" (Bertelsmann 1972: 27, transl. IF).[l]

> "The native humour of the Berliners is sarcasm with heart, always kitschy, always razor-sharp. The Berliner is also tender-hearted and sentimental […] heart with snout. The Berliner has been always like this and so he will remain" (Berlitz 1998: 12, transl. IF).[li]

In line with these descriptions, Berliners are described as a natural, simple, and kind-hearted people. Their simplicity, however, is not a sign of passivity or naiveté, but a source of spontaneity and directness. Berliners are said to be brave, ironic, and very critical and sceptical of political power and authority. The ironic nicknames given by Berliners to new city buildings and monuments are often highlighted in guided tours as unambiguous signs of this natural critical tendency[9]. Berliners are said to have 'snout with heart' [*Schnauze mit*

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[8] Such positives associations are, however, not true for everyone and the *Berliner Luft* can certainly be very differently perceived. When discussing this issue, a German colleague born in the 1960's and raised in Bavaria told me that as a child he always associated the *Berliner Luft* with the industrial polluted air of a big city. For someone living in West Germany in the 1970s, such an association is not as odd and arbitrary as it seems today given the political efforts of that time to encourage the location of major industries in Berlin; efforts that were reinforced with city-marketing images of Berlin as the major industrial centre of Germany (see Schütz & Siebenhaar 1995)

A curious controversy that clearly shows that the *Berliner Luft* is not supposed to invoke images of smog and contamination took place in 2005. European Union Environmental Official prohibited the sale of cans of *Berliner Luft*, a popular souvenir, since 35% of the cans analyzed had concentrations of diesel motor particles at levels dangerous for consumers' health. The fact that these cans are not usually open, but kept closed as souvenirs was not considered, forcing producers to filter the *Berliner Luft*. Producers' proposals to move production to Brandenburg was not authorised, for Berlin's air is legally defined as the air 10 meters above Berlin's surface (Tagesspiegel, April 01, 2005).

[9] Of course, nicknames stem in most cases from journalists and sometimes even from tour guides. On one of the tours that I took whilst carrying out fieldwork, I was surprised by the nickname for the Statue Berlin that the tour

Herz]; a juxtaposition that suggests that a Berliner's rudeness is compensated by his or her good heart and establishes a direct connection between a way of talking and a way of feeling.

Tourist guidebooks are very prolific and certainly very creative in establishing myriads of connections between the archetypal Berliner and the history of the city. 'Authentic' Berliners are presented as having been naturally predisposed to be part of the resistance to Hitler, a depiction that is synergic with the recurrent depiction of the Nazis as an alien force. Similarly, Berliners are portrayed as having played a central role in holding the divided city together. The shared common traits of Berliners would have prevailed over the economical, political or sociological differences produced by the Cold War, preventing the Wall undermining the unity of Berlin.

> "One feels that, despite all the profound differences in the social systems, people in divided Berlin had almost more in common with each other than with people from the other parts of their respective countries" (Berlitz 1987/1988: 8, transl. IF).[lii]

One important commonality attributed to the Berliners in the context of the Cold War is their scepticism about power and political ideologies.

> "Whether East or West, Berliners have a quick and often biting sense of humour. Even though the atmosphere in this frontier city results in hardenings of the public opinion; for the most part Berliners remain sceptical towards political rallying cries and promises. The secret of this energetic temper, it is said, is the lively Berliner Luft – which at least you can still buy in cans" (Berlitz 1987/1988: 12, transl. IF).[liii]

Resistant, defiant and sceptical, Berliners are constantly presented as having opposed those historical events and processes that shaped Berlin's dark and haunting memories. This applies not just to Nazism or communism, but 'true Berliners' would have been also against the excesses of modern urban planning.

Probably the most decisive characteristic attributed to Berliners is their tolerance and willingness to accept and integrate 'Others' into their city's life. Berlin is portrayed as a city in which different cultures and different peoples can live together in harmony, without having to sacrifice their particularities. Such rhetoric of cultural integration and world openness is directly associated with the character of the Berliner:

> "Another facet of the Berlin character is its people's directness and refusal to mince words. While this brashness can be both refreshing and unsettling, it's

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guide attributed to Berliners. When I asked him after the tour where this nickname came from, he explained that he had invented it. He said that this kind of thing is allowed, because tours are about entertainment.

> really rooted in an attitude of tolerance, a willingness to accept differences among people" (Lonely Planet 2000: 10).

Following this line, Berlin is often described as a city of strangers and new-comers, stemming from different regions of Germany, Europe, and the world, and being received with open arms by the ones who arrived previously. Therefore one guidebook states that 'real Berliners' have always been hard to find.

> "'The real Berliners are rarely found and this city is filled in many parts with foreigners, who make a colourful mix'. So wrote a chronicler around 1880. Foreigners: those were all the non-prussians […] And if you consider things this way, then it's still true today. Immigrants from the DDR and from 'Wessi-land' –this is how some Berliners call the Federal Republic- are at least as numerous in Berlin as Turks, Italians and Greeks; and 'real' Berliners, third generation city inhabitants are in fact rarely found. But unlike Hamburg, strangers are not isolated, but acting on the maxim 'come in to the good snuggery' heartly embraced. […] This city power to integrate has been around for many centuries and, however, nobody is forced to give up his or her own idiosyncrasy" (Merian Besser Reisen 1989: 11, transl. IF).[liv]

While the definition of 'real Berliners' as third-generation Berliners recalls German citizenship laws that provide nationality only for third-generation immigrants (Brubaker, 1992), the guidebook contests such restrictive definitions by emphasizing a different way of belonging to the city based on local culture and everyday life. Against the background of the predominant political definition of Germany as a non-immigrant land until the late 1990s (Brubaker, 2001), tourist guidebooks to Berlin systematically highlight the immigrant character of the city. Such assertions are embedded in historical narratives that seek to explain the conditions under which tolerance and openness to the world were formed.

> "Wends, Dutch, French (Huguenots), members of all German lineages all became within a short time Berliners. This absorption phenomenon still occurs in Berlin today. From this, evolves a particularly lovely attribute of the Berliner. He doesn't know any 'new-comers'. Whoever is around is a Berliner regardless from where he came" (Bertelsmann 1972: 20, transl. IF).[lv]

> "Here came all together: French, Huguenots, Austrians, Poles and Russians and, above all, Jews [...] But also many Silesians came to Berlin ("What is a Berliner that comes from Wroclaw?"). Berlin was always urban and cosmopolitan" (Berlitz 1998: 12, transl. IF).[lvi]

Tolerance, informality, integrative potential and other qualities attributed to Berliners also contribute to general descriptions of the contemporary cultural atmosphere of the city. In this context, old sayings such as 'Jeder nach seiner Facon' or 'Berliner Luft, Luft, Luft' become associated with the image of Berlin as an international city where people from different cultures can live together. On the one hand, this is connected to the description of Berlin as a crossing point in the heart of Europe and a place where European cultures meet

and live together, as 'demonstrated' by the large numbers of Russians and the renewed place for Jewish culture in the city's everyday life. More generally, contemporary Berlin is described as a place where Eastern and Western Europe converge.

> "Not only the growing together of the former divided country is visible in Berlin, but also that of Europe. Berlin belongs, and that's unique, to both, Eastern and Western Europe!" (Humboldt 1992: 8-9, transl. IF).[lvii]

Also the large Turkish presence in Berlin is presented as showing the capacity of the city to integrate non-European and rather 'exotic cultures'. Berlin is then portrayed as a multicultural metropolis full of colours, flavours, and people living together in a way that would only be possible in this city. Events such as the Carnival of Cultures and other aspects of city culture, such as its restaurants' landscape, are highlighted as signs of cultural diversity:

> "In the weekly markets extended Turkish families buy boxes of aubergines and grapefruits at once; veiled women bargain down the prices; merchants advertise their goods loudly. A breath from the Orient and a real experience!" (Marco Polo 2005: 9, transl. IF).[lviii]

> "People from all corners of the worlds call Berlin home, and it's this United Nations of cuisines that makes eating out in the German capital so exciting. From an unpretentious doner kebab or currywurst to foie gras and Chilean sea bass, from American burgers to Zambian stew, you're sure to find it in a menu somewhere. In fact, finding honest-to-goodness German or Berlin dishes is increasingly becoming a challenge in this most international of European capitals" (Lonely Planet 2002: 189).

Such claims for harmonious integration of non-European cultures into city life and landscape are based on the basic values embodied by the *Berliner Luft*: cultural diversity, respectful and tolerant urbanity, and the integrative power of the city. From this perspective, aspects of city life that might otherwise be seen as contradictory, such as the *Berliner Schnauze* and Turkish traditions, become expressions of a shared common cultural ground.

> "One is not a *Berliner*, one becomes one, but then properly. He or she who is still not one can become one (quite different from Hamburg), *therefore* foreigners are so rapidly accepted […] The *Berliner soul* is reluctant to recognize others as better or more important […] *Therefore* there are no hierarchies in Berlin, no fine society, no political class, no lumpenproletariat […] There are only different scenes, circles, cultures and subcultures and all are open to the outside, to the immigrants, to the new-comers and to the visitors" (Marco Polo 1998: 15, transl. and emphases IF).[lix]

The Berliner, his and her 'mentality' and 'soul' are invoked here as major cultural forces shaping Berlin's sociocultural life. Not only are the dynamics of subcultures and scenes understood as a consequence of this cultural force, but even sociopolitical categories, such as class, proletariat or bourgeoisie, are seen as softened and even melted into this cultural air.

Social structures, political processes, urban economics, demography, power inequalities, poverty, social problems, and all other aspects of the social fabric of the city do not play a prominent part here and, if mentioned, are understood as expressions of the much deeper cultural structure of the city. Indeed, one of the few references to contemporary socio-political life is the idea that a new civic culture would be emerging in the city as a consequence of its renewed role as capital of Germany. Such civic culture could be grasped in the transparency of politics and the proximity of politicians and famous personalities.

> "You will be surprised by the number of celebrities that you encounter in restaurants and cafes. And that's only thinkable in a city like Berlin: people are perceived first as people. Whether someone is a celebrity or not is only interesting in second place. 'Live and let live' – this is the predominant slogan. One wants to be perceived as an individual and one concedes this to others" (Marco Polo 2005: 8, transl. IF).[lx]

The *Berliner Luft* is not just invoked as a basic mode of urban integration and propinquity. Since the 1980's it is also used to explain the role of the city as a place of innovation and creativity, as a space for experimentation and avant-garde, as a niche for alternative lifestyles, as an attraction for youngsters, pioneers and hipsters, as a mosaic of scenes, and as a laboratory of modernity. Freedom and tolerance as pillars of the *Berliner Luft* ensure thus not just the harmonious integration of multiple Others, but also the creation of the 'new': new trends, new lifestyles, new modes, new art, new music, new forms of inhabiting urban space, new ways of structuring biographies, etc.

> "Tolerant, open to new ways and in many respects avant-garde; so Berlin reveals itself particularly regarding its cultural life" (Marco Polo 2005: 8, transl. IF).[lxi]

By the beginning of the 1990's Berlin's alternative character would be explained by pointing to the particular political and economic conditions that fostered the location of youngsters, artists and experimental scenes in West Berlin during the Cold War. Not only were Berliners liberated from military duties, but the city also received important federal subventions for the development of the arts and culture. Tourist guidebooks also point to the economic and housing conditions prevailing after the fall of the Wall in the Eastern part of the city as being decisive for the flourishing of alternative urban movements and underground scenes during the 1990s. However tourist guidebooks would usually explain the existence of large alternative and experimental scenes as a natural consequence of the Berliners' way of life and culture.

"Most follow the motto coined by King Frederic the Great: 'Jeder nach seiner

> Facon', which loosely translates as 'live and let live'. It's no coincidence that one in every 7,5 Berlin residents is an immigrant or that Europe's liveliest gay and lesbian scene flourishes here" (Lonley Planet 2002, 8).

Apart from directly linking Frederic the Great to the contemporary gay and lesbian scene, the open and experimental character of the city is presented as the main factor attracting around 100.000 young people from all over the world annually. No mentions are usually made to the fact that despite such movement of people, population numbers stagnate. Berlin is presented rather as a flourishing young city, with an experimental character that cannot be just explained with references to the walled city. Moreover, the idea of a counter-culture, as it existed in Berlin during the 1970s and 1980s (cfr. Schwanhäußer, 2002), is presented as obsolete and inadequate to understand Berlin's contemporary scene.

> "In the past it was easier. Then one knew who, what or where was the scene in Berlin, regardless of East or West: Prenzlauer Berg on the one side, Kreuzberg and Schöneberg on the other side of the Wall. The scene; this was the avant-garde. In the past means before the fall of the Wall. As the old frontier became permeable and the Wall disappeared definitively, the scene moved towards Mitte, the city centre [...] And now? Now the loss of Mitte is threatened […] Where is the scene today? All over the place […] From Marzahn (Springpfuhlhaus) in the East to Spandau (J.W.D.) in the West, and even to Potsdam (Waschhaus), the scene was in places, whose names were until recently only known to the people from their neighbourhoods […] Full of secrecy and thereby of excitement are the illegal clubs named after weekdays that can't be found advertised on posters or programmes […] Here it is, the myth of the new Berlin" (Baedeker 2005: 78, transl. IF).[lxii]

Even though Baedeker takes the position of an individual whom the new trends popular among young people have passed by and who is nostalgic for the past (everything was easier before), the description is full of enthusiastic undertones. Two important transformations are noted by Baedeker: the scene is nowadays neither singular nor spatially fixed. Instead scenes are multiple with much more fluid limits, distributed ubiquitously throughout the whole city (cfr. Schwanhäußer, 2005).

References to fluidity and creativity started to be associated in recent years with the description of Berlin as a place of innovation. The Marco Polo guidebook, for example, defines Berlin as 'the city of new ideas' and suggests that in Berlin 'everything is possible'. Whether this is true or not is certainly not important. It is, rather, a question of plausibility. One element that make such images sound extremely plausible is that they are not associated with promises of economic growth and success, as the thesis of the 'creative class' would suggest (Florida, 2002). City-marketing agencies such as *Berlin-Partner* have tried to establish a direct link between Berlin's alternative scenes and culture and Europe's creative

economy of the 21th century which does not result particularly interesting for tourists. Tourist guidebooks look rather for different kinds of images, for which there is appropriate evidence.

> "Trend scouts of big fashion companies cavort regularly in the city to get inspiration from the daring outfits, full of fantasy of the inhabitants of scene-neighbourhoods, such as Mitte, Prenzlauer Berg or Friedrichshain" (Marco Polo 2005: 14, transl. IF).[lxiii]

Much more plausible seems to be the image of big companies, not necessarily based in Berlin, capitalizing on the surplus creativity of young Berliners.

Guidebooks present the sociocultural life of Berlin primarily in terms of an urban flair, from the *Berliner Schnauze* to the creative scenes. The *Berliner Luft* is thus not anchored in any kind of solid object, attractions or specific sites and sights that could be physically gazed at or pictured. In a sense, all that is solid –all the specific addresses, descriptions and pictures mentioned by guidebooks- melts into this urban flair. The Berliner Luft becomes thus literally an air that loosely glides over Berlin, that is everywhere and nowhere, and that the only way of grasping and experiencing it is by breathing it. The Berliner Luft describes thus a particular sense of place, which is disseminated in references to ambiances, lifestyles and everyday life contexts.

> "To truly understand what makes Berlin tick, you must venture into its neighbourhoods. Watch Schöneberg yuppies stock up flowers and fresh veggies on Saturday's Winterfeldtplatz market. Listen to Turkish workers debate the latest soccer scores at a Kreuzberg café […] Join students and counter-culturalists pondering their navels in bohemian Friedrichshain […] test your stamina while clubbing with scenesters in trendy Mitte. Heck, go just about anywhere –with open eyes and heart- and you're pretty much guaranteed a fun time" (Lonely Planet 2002, 8).

This particular ordering of Berlin's identity has direct consequences for the way tourist practices are framed. Indeed, it does not only indicate the places tourists have to visit or the right attitude they need to have, but it also defines certain forms of doing tourism as legitimate. In that context, tourist guidebooks would even criticize some traditional ways of tourism as inappropriate.

> "The Baedeker didn't have too many stars to allocate in this city [...] He who only likes to count up the memorials, castles, churches and the few medieval streets behaves like someone who would only notice the rings and necklaces of a bouncy and distinctive woman" (DTV-Merian 1989: 14, transl. IF).[lxiv]

The liveliness of Berlin is seen, for example, in the very large number of cultural activities and events.

> "Everyday there is plentiful opera, theatre, concerts, cabarets and vaudevilles,

> music and dance, lectures and exhibition openings" (Baedeker 2004: 15, transl. IF).[lxv]

Berlin is celebrated for being a city with an infinite cultural offering and a large number of cultural events, which take place throughout the year, not just during the summer. In the Marco Polo guidebook 2005, 11 out of the 20 annual events listed relate to cultural industries such as music, theatre, cinema, fashion, museum, and literature. Three of these are connected with glocal cultures, scenes and traditions (Karneval der Kulturen, Christopher-Street-Day, Weihnachtsmärkte). Guidebooks emphasize that these events are not just pitched at tourists, but are true expressions of Berlin's cultural spirit.

> "There is not another city in Germany with a population as open-minded about cultural things in similar way" (Bertelsmann 1972: 3-4, transl. IF).[lxvi]

> "Generally Berliners love to move in big groups, whether it is Carnival of Cultures, Love Parade or Christopher Day, the fuller, the better. And when moreover there is something for free, like tasting during Green Week, then there's no stopping" (Marco Polo 2005: 16, transl. IF).[lxvii]

Any connection between Berlin's cultural offering, avant-garde and contemporary creative scenes and the Berliners' character is based on the image of a population with a natural affection towards culture rather than an expression of a bourgeois tradition. Baedeker, for example, suggests that the natural disposition of Berliners to tolerance and freedom was a key component to the liberal ambiance of the metropolitan Berlin in the 1920s, and particularly decisive for the success of the famous *Berliner Cabarett*. Like many other guidebooks, Baedeker proposes a direct historical connection between the swinging twenties and today, contributing thus to the myth of the 'once being' metropolis [*einst gewesene Metropole*] (Zohlen, 2002).

Such descriptions of Berlin's cultural life certainly have decisive consequences for the tourists in the city. On the one hand they stress the magnitude of Berlin's cultural offering and on the other hand they make clear that during a short visit to Berlin it is only possible to get a superficial overview.

> "If you want to visit all on offer in East and West Berlin, then you need at least a week just for a first impression" (Bertelsmann 1972: 4, transl. IF).[lxviii]

On the other hand, stressing the natural linkage between authentic Berliners, Berlin's creative scenes and this great cultural offering, guidebooks force tourists to take on the role of spectators. A similar definition of tourists' epistemic position comes up in the descriptions of Berlin's nightlife. Berlin is presented as having a long tradition as a party town, a tradition that goes back to the Roaring Twenties and that nowadays is continued by the new young

creative scenes. The most important aspect mentioned by almost all guidebooks is the non-existence of a closing time and that partying is far from being limited to nights.

> "Berlin's nightlife is still supposed to be the loudest in the Republic. There really is no closing time. Anyone with the necessary stamina can turn night into day practically without pause and assume, as a basic principle, that there is always something happening somewhere" (Baedeker 2005: 76, transl. IF).[lxix]

These kinds of descriptions mould tourist practices in a very subtle way, defining the most basic assumptions tourists should make regarding Berlin's nightlife. Concretely, tourists should take for granted that always, whether Saturday night or a Tuesday morning, something to interest them is going on. Therefore, if tourists cannot find a good party, it is because of their own disinformation and the fluidity and mobility of the scene. They should never conclude that Berlin's nightlife is small or boring. Berlin's nightlife appears thus as a field of urban activity completely independent of tourists, who can only participate superficially in it. Such distance between the tourist and the city's sociocultural landscapes is characteristic not just of these descriptions of Berlin's nightlife or cultural offering, but is a more general consequence of the *Berliner Luft* ordering of destination identity.

3.3.4. Green City on the Water

Pictures rather than words are the main bearers of yet another ordering of Berlin's identity which highlights its particular urban nature. The river Spree, the Landwehr canal, the waterfront developments, the shore life, the parks, and the lakes surrounding the city are the main natural elements depicted in tourist guidebooks to enhance Berlin's attractiveness. There are no sayings to summarize this particular ordering of destination identity, but the two most popular motifs are water and green areas.

> "Water city. Hardly any other city in Europe has at its disposal so many lakes, rivers and canals as the 'Spree-Athenes'" (Marco Polo 2005: 15, transl. IF).[lxx]

> "The green metropolis. Besides its large cultural offering, Berlin has the most green areas of all European cities" (Berlitz 1998: 10, transl. IF).[lxxi]

Such portraits of nature as a constitutive part of Berlin's identity are relatively new and contrast overtly with descriptions of the beginning of the 1990's that treated Berlin's nature as opposed to its urban character.

> "Berlin [...] is a huge city that encompasses ample areas of green belt land. Within its borders are located big lakes and extensive forests [...] In addition the city is crossed by rivers and canals. *But* quintessentially it *does* exhibit an urban character" (Humboldt 1992: 7, transl. and emphases IF).[lxxii]

Contemporary guidebooks, in contrast, attribute to these 'natural facts' a much more powerful position in defining Berlin's identity and articulating city-images, tourists' practices and local identities. The question is then not so much about the way how nature is constructed as a realm opposed or untouched by urbanity, but rather about the way nature becomes an urban nature, participating and articulating in city life. As Stephen Graham recently wrote,

> "the 'natural' world mingles inseparably with the urban world. Increasingly it is impossible to separate the natural world from the man-made one of the cities, infrastructures, and technologies" (in Bender, 2006a: 10-11).

What is at stake here is not just the question about the ways in which the river Spree, for example, is transformed into a tourist attraction, but more radically about the ways the river Spree acquires a new role, articulating tourist and urban practices and identities.

A new trend in this direction is the visual representation of Berlin by means of abstract maps depicting natural landmarks. Such images of urban space are diametrically opposed to more traditional depictions, such as panoramic representations of the city skyline, since they displace the focus from the built environment to the natural landscape, which becomes the main co-ordinate system (see Figures 2.12 and 2.13.). Taking nature, and particularly the River Spree, as a major urban landmark and privileged space for touring the city is a new form of depiction that comes up in the guidebook Berlin im Fluss, which exclusively focuses on the new architecture built along the waterfront. Its table of contents is particularly noteworthy (see Figure 2.14.), since by depicting the contour of the River Spree against an unmarked space, it presents the river as the main force arranging urban space, suggesting that city architecture and even its history has been structured around the river.

Figure 2.12. "Between Alexanderplatz and Märkischem Ufer" (ADAC 2005: 53, transl. IF).[lxxiii]

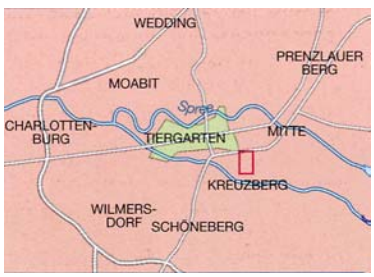

Figure 2.13. “Around the Charlotenburg Castle” (ADAC 2005: 82, transl. IF).[lxxiv]

Figure 2.14. List of contents (Berlin im Fluss 2004)

Historically, however, the river played a quite different role for tourism, being a natural barrier that Berlin has coped with. An example of this can be found in references to Berlin as a city of bridges, with even more bridges than Venice. It is not the river, but the way in which this natural barrier has been overcome by Berlin’s urban planners and architects that is highlighted most. The common pictures of the Oberbaumbrücke focus more on its architectural and decorative programmes than on the river. Nowadays, the River Spree is emerging from the background to become a main actor contributing to Berlin’s unique appeal. The 4-page long table of contents of the ADAC guidebook of 2005 includes 14 photos of Berlin’s main tourist landmarks. Four of these depict the River Spree and at least three of them (see Figures 2.15., 2.16., 2.17. and 2.18.) show tourist practices enabled by the river and invert the visual relationship between river and city, the latter becoming part of the background.

Figure 2.15. List of contents (ADAC 2005: 2)

Figure 2.16. List of contents (ADAC 2005: 2)

Figure 2.17. List of contents (ADAC 2005: 3)

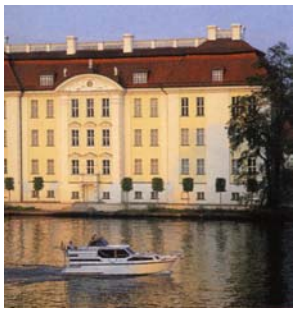

Figure 2.18. List of contents (ADAC 2005: 4)

The transformation of city waterfronts into urban areas offering leisure activities for residents and visitors is certainly not something unique to Berlin as demonstrated by the waterfront developments in many cities including Barcelona and Buenos Aires. This is clearly a global urban trend. In any case, tourist guidebooks have begun to highlight the new infrastructures along the river as one important attraction of Berlin. Many have included pictures of the redeveloped Reichstag waterside in the northern part of Mitte (between Friedrichstraße and the Reichstag) and the newly built Ludwig-Erhard-Ufer (between the Reichstag and the Bundeskanzleramt).

The waterside is claimed to inject a new flair to the city through the promenades, new bars, cafes, restaurants and shops, not just offering new perspectives on the new buildings of these areas. Figure 2.15. captures both aspects, associating the promenade to a certain lifestyle and to a certain kind of user. On the other hand, the Spree waterside is also associated with more alternative uses, particularly in the area between the Jannowitzbrücke and the Oberbaumbrücke. This area stands for the daily life of Berliners, particularly the youngsters, who have creatively recovered and appropriated the Spree shore for their own use rather than for urban politics of waterfront development (See Figure 2.19.). The bars on the banks of the River Spree are one of the four 'hip' things that according to the Marco Polo Guidebook of 2005, tourists should know about when seeking, 'trends, the scene and curiosities in Berlin':

> "Berliners treasure at home sand, canvas chairs and cool drinks. Beach bars on the banks of the Spree spring up like mushrooms" (Marco Polo 2005: 96, transl. IF).[lxxv]

Other temporary uses of the Spree waterside, such as nightclubs on the riverbanks or on boats, are also highlighted by guidebooks. The Badeschiff which is a swimming pool in summer and a sauna in winter both floating in the river, is a good example of how the river itself, and not just its shore, becomes a centre stage for touring and experiencing Berlin.

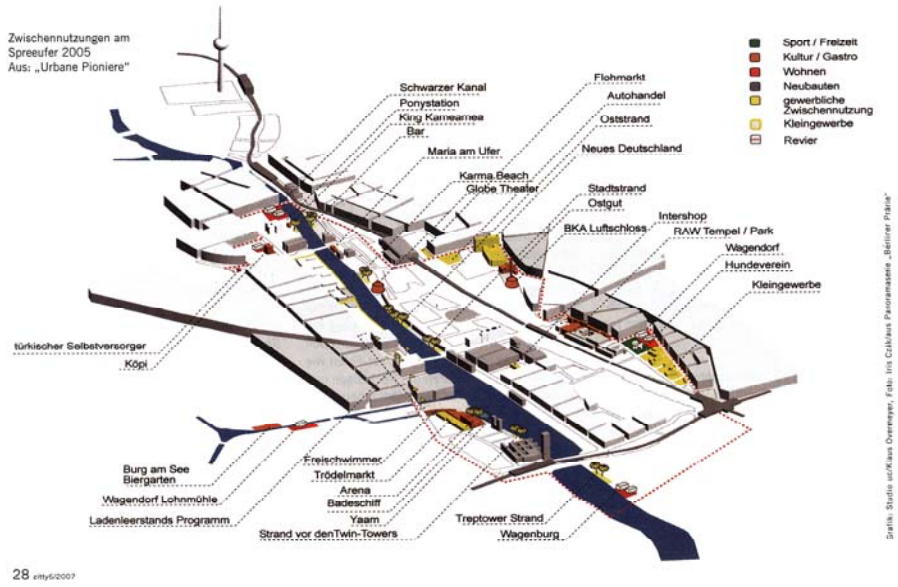

Figure 2.19. "Temporary Uses at the Spree waterside. 2005" (Zitty 6-2007: 28)

Taking one of the sightseeing steamships is perhaps one of the most popular tourist attraction on the river (See Figure 2.16.). Indeed, the number of sightseeing boots has significantly increased over recent years and become a 'must' for tourists when in Berlin.

> "It is necessary to see and experience Berlin from the water, taking the steam boat. Only then can you see a true image of the city, which comes closer to that held by Berliners" (Baedeker 2005: 15, transl. IF).[lxxvi]

Baedeker's comment suggests that navigating through Berlin on these boats is not just about seeing the city from a different perspective, but also is in itself a way of experiencing the city, which is allegedly closer to the perspectives of the residents. Figure 2.17. is in this regard a good example, as it does not depict a tourist activity, but a routine image. Just like the bars and other alternative uses of the riverbank, the guidebook suggests thus that experiencing the river is for tourists a way of coming closer to the inhabitants' experience of their city.

The sightseeing boots are also an expression of a relaxed Berlin composed of green areas, parks, lakes, forests and rivers. Guidebooks describe this relaxed Berlin as an urban ordering that runs parallel to the more well known images of the city.

> "Two films shot in 1927 and 2002 describe Berlin as a symphony of lights and noise and gaudy colours. *But there is also the green quiet Berlin* with the ripple of the Spree and the white sails on the Havel, with anglers fishing through the ice on the quiet Müggelsee in winter, the hikers in the Grünewald" (Baedeker 2005: 15, transl. IF).[lxxvii]

> "One might consider it improbable at first, but whoever is looking for recreation or is interested in nature or its history can get his money worth in the surroundings of Berlin and even within the city limits" (Humboldt 1992: 85, transl. IF).[lxxviii]

The number and character of parks also play a central role in tourist guidebooks. Indeed almost all guidebooks stress the fact that almost 40% of the city surface is not built-up, but green areas and water. Similarly, many guidebooks highlight the number and variety of parks and gardens in Berlin, emphasizing that there is no other major city in Europe comparable in this regard. Baedeker dedicates a whole section to describe the green areas of the city and the Tiergarten receives special mention for being one of the biggest innercity parks in the world and a central spot for Berliners' park life. Berliners, indeed, are described as being very fond of their parks.

> "Berliners do not just love their parks, whether Schlosspark Charlotenburg or Volkspark Hasenheide; they live with and in them" (Baedeker 2005: 304, transl. IF).[lxxix]

As in the case of the waterfront character of Berlin, references to inner-city green areas are a relative new element of the tourist ordering of Berlin. During the 1970's, references to urban nature were rare and referred mostly to the natural landscapes lost with the war. The destruction of all trees in the Tiergarten is one of the frequently cited examples. When these tourist guidebooks highlighted Berlin's urban nature, they focused on its hybrid entwinement with the process of reconstructing the city:

> "The mountain of detritus in the Teufelsee, where until 1972 21 millions of cubic meters of rubbish were to be transformed into 'new nature', is today a popular ski slope, whose artificial pistes can compete with natural ones" (Bertelsmann 1972: 19, transl. IF).[lxxx]

In the 1980's, on the contrary, tourist guidebooks began to include pictures of park life in Berlin. Young people and young families using these parks for recreation and leisure, bathing in the sun, reading a book, or just relaxing were depicted as central motives (See Figures 2.20, 2.21 and 2.22). Usually they appeared completely unaware or at least not paying attention to the big tourist attraction in the background of these pictures. In this way, these pictures depict

not only Berlin's park life, but also the normal, routine and unnoticed way Berliners deal with Berlin's tourist attractions. Parks served also to show 'families of Turkish guest workers'. Figure 2.23. differs, however, from "normal" pictures of Berlin's park life in striking ways, making Turkish users of the park seem exotic. Interestingly, the contrast depicted in this picture is not between a relaxed park life and tourist attractions, but rather between two forms of use of the same park. The Turkish woman is not shown at leisure, but using the park to do manual and semi-domestic work. Similarly, her clothes also overtly contrast clearly with those of the figure at the back. In the case of the Turkish boy who is probably her son, the contrast is the inverse: instead of running and playing in the park, as kids normally do, he sleeps.

Figure 2.20. "The Victory Goddess above the trees of the Tiergarten" (Berlitz 1987/88: 24, transl. IF)[lxxxi]

Figure 2.21. Untitled/Uncommented (Berlitzt 1998: 6)

Figure 2.22. Untitled/Uncommented (ADAC 2005: 8)

Figure 2.23. "They shape the city image all over, but in Kreuzberg the Turkish families of guest-workers have founded their colony" (Berlitz 1987/88: 24, transl. IF).[lxxxii]

Visual and narrative depictions of Berlin's parks do not just enhance their role in Berlin's urban life but they also establish connections between parks, practices, users, and identities, transforming the park landscape into a cultural geography of the city.

> "The Tiergarten must also be mentioned, not just as a place of escape for strollers and joggers, but above all as the picnic place for the Turkish population of Berlin. Those who like to bathe in the sun unveiled go biking at the weekend to the Teufelsee. During the week, around midday the secretaries of Ku-Damm are admired by the chauvinists in the meadows of the Halensee. On the contrary, the first official nudist beach at the Grünewaldsee [...] was taken over by dossers and exhibitionists" (Merian Besser Reisen 1989: 12, transl. IF).[lxxxiii]

Parks have identities and play different roles in the city life. Berliners are not just fond of their parks; they do also have an embedded knowledge about fine distinctions that characterise each of their parks, and how they actively participate in their social and cultural life. Tourist knowledge, on the other hand, can only offer superficial access to this park life, prescribing thus to the tourists an external position. Tourists can in fact rely on guidebooks to get idea sense of how complex this park life is, but Berliners are the proper users of these parks. Not by chance do pictures tend not to portray tourists' uses of the park. They are taken from a

tourist point of view, showing that Berlin's park life, from Turks in Görlitzer Park to exhibitionists in Grünewaldsee, are only to be gazed at, and even photographed by tourists, but not shared and experienced.

3.4. The Sense of the Distinction Berlin

The description of the tourist orderings of Berlin's identity presented above has not been framed in terms of the analysis of representations, but of a reality of its own. The focus has not been on the guidebooks' images of the city and how they reduce the complexity of the city, but rather on the way guidebooks produce these orderings and thereby new tourist complexity. The analysis has focused, first, on the diversity of aspects brought together by these orderings and on their rhizomatic nature. These orderings have been described as complex knots of practices, identities, spaces, images, slogans, representations and stories, rather than merely discourses or narratives.

The analysis of these four orderings has also been done focusing on their processual and dynamic characteristics. By focusing on how such tourist complexity evolves and transforms, the dynamic character of the concept of ordering, as a verb, and not just as a noun, has been stressed. Even though the analysis is full of references to guidebooks of the 1970's and 1980's, it is not just a historical account, but rather a genealogical account of the contemporary orderings of destination identity. It has been also carefully shown the multi-faceted character of the destination Berlin. Such inner multiplicity is reflected in the fact that each of these orderings can function relatively autonomously. The existence of tourist guidebooks and guided-tours dedicated exclusively to some of them clearly proves this. Given this, it is then also necessary to show the ways in which these orderings act together in the production of the destination Berlin.

Two main arguments can help us to address the question about the identity of the destination Berlin. The first point, already suggested above, can be developed in line with the thinking of Doreen Massey. The theoretical door opened by Massey (1994) leads to reflection about geographical difference, the uniqueness, and even rootedness of places in a progressive way. In her classic paper on a 'global sense of place', the British geographer argues that an important bias in the study of places is their conception as having single or essential identities. Places, argues Massey, are constellations of social relations and their specificity derives from their position as points of interception. Places therefore have relational boundaries, are

constituted as processes, and their identities are not self-closing, but outward-looking. Massey argues that the multiplicity of identities, peoples, social relations, and conflicts hosted at a place does not undermine their specificity and unique 'sense of place'. Following Massey, it is then possible to argue that these multiple orderings of destination identity interact with each other, producing a complex, multilayered, but still unique sense of place.

Still, the question about *how* the senses of an 'always-becoming city', of a 'haunted city', of a *Berliner Luft*, and of a 'green city on the water' partake in the production of a unique destination identity remains unclear. A further step in this direction can be taken with Niklas Luhmann's (1995) conceptualization of sense [*Sinn*]. Following Husserl, Luhmann argues that sense appears experientially as a surfeit of references to other possibilities of experience and action, building an infinite horizon of possibilities. Thus, the experience of sense forces a selection to be made, to introduce a distinction between actual experiences or actions and other latent possibilities. Sense, argues Luhmann, is thus intrinsically connected with the problem of complexity, emerging out of noise as a continual processing of differences. Therefore, he argues, sense is intrinsically unstable and incapable of maintaining a nucleus or a static identity.

Deleuze (1990) describes sense as an ontological principle constituted as a pure-event that is always 'somewhere else', not contained in what is said. Sense is thus always presupposed and can neither be grasped nor observed. To this analysis, Luhmann adds a crucial argument. Even when sense cannot be observed, the continuous processing of sense by means of differences can be observed as "we *encounter the decomposition of [sense] per se* […] as a *decomposition into differences*" (1995: 75). To do this it is necessary to distinguish between different kinds of distinctions traced and used for processing sense. Luhmann distinguishes between fact, temporal and social distinctions and corresponding dimensions of sense. This dissection of sense does not deny its phenomenological fullness or its tautological character, but introduces an innovative perspective for its analytical description.

With this in mind the four orderings of destination identity can be understood as ways of processing Berlin's sense of place and not as definitve answers or solutions to the question about the uniqueness of the destination. Moreover, understanding the destination Berlin as a distinction, it would be possible to reconsider Massey's question about its unique sense of place in terms of the Luhmannian distinction of three dimensions of sense. However, this

cannot be done by simply describing the orderings identified above as referring to one particular dimension of sense. Since each of these orderings is indeed made out of heterogeneous knots of narratives, identities, practices, and spaces, each of them processes simultaneously objectual, temporal, and social distinctions.

Following Luhmann (1995), the fact [*sachlich*] dimension refers to the world of things (objects, nature, machines, technologies, materialities.) that can be observed, and thereby performed, by means of the distinction 'this/something else'. The fact dimension is thus a form of dealing with the world: "Things are constraints on possibilities of combination […] and provide handy clues for managing references to the world" (Luhmann, 1995: 77). Since its basic remission structure is the world, the fact dimension is directly involved in the production of ontologies, and not just in their description. Indeed, Luhmann does not assume a prior or self-contained existence of things, but stresses that they are the performative effect of an operation of observation. Such analysis shares a basic sense with Latour's (2005a) definition of things as 'matters of concern' rather than 'matters of fact'. At the root of both authors' definitions rests the poststructuralist view of objects as "an effect of stable arrays or networks of relations [… that] hold together so long as those relations also hold together" (Law, 2002b: 91). Following these authors, the analysis of the fact dimension of the sense of place attributed to Berlin in tourist communication is intrinsically intertwined with the question about the kind of ontologies these orderings sustain.

Looking at the kind of objects and things depicted within the city, it is possible to detect two major ways in which tourist guidebooks deal with and perform Berlin's ontology. Indeed, the first two orderings described above, the 'always-becoming city' and the 'haunted city', refer to the city by means of singular, self-contained and bounded objects, buildings, sites and monuments placed in the urban space. These urban objects and materialities appear indeed as main bearers of meanings, images, symbols, and narratives. In this sense, the 'always-becoming city' and the 'haunted city' are not just embedded in the urban sphere, but rather embodied in particular objects or places. Both orderings exhibit thus a sort of objectual fix, which indeed sees the practices of sightseeing as the most appropriate way to grasp the destination identity. However, a closer look at the kind of objects constituted by these orderings reveals that some of them exhibit fuzzy boundaries, fragmentary materialities, and sometimes they simply lack of materiality. They are often building sites, voids, relocated restored buildings, imaginary places, not-yet or never built urban projects.

To understand the nature of these objects, it may be necessary to make a further theoretical point. John Law argues that is not enough to say that objects are relational effects; objects, suggests the British sociologist, "are always enacted in a multi-topological manner, and are dependent for their constancy on the intersection of different spaces" (Law, 2002b: 98). The objects of these two orderings inhabit a borderline between the material urban space and the immaterial tourist space; each of which exhibits its own definitions of what an object is. Thus, the objectual dimension of the destination Berlin is enacted by fuzzy objects, whose solidity depends simultaneously on the materiality of the city and its tourist framing. Therefore, even though these two orderings favour sightseeing as the correct way to approach Berlin's tourist attractions, sightseeing is turned into a non self-evident activity. To grasp the tourist objects of Berlin it is therefore necessary to make extensive use of imagination and other techniques of visualization.

The cases of the *Berliner Luft* and the 'green city on the water' are different, as rather than dealing with objects, they refer to unbounded urban spaces, a ubiquitous urban flair, individuals, and practices. In fact, one central way of dealing with the city is by constituting subjects, individuals and groups, with particular mentalities, lifestyles, and activities: Berliners, alternative scenes, greenies, migrants, artists, gay and lesbian scenes, etc. Such references undermine the embodiment of these orderings in particular urban sites or buildings. The focus is not posed on particular places –particular bars, museums or parks-, but on the large collections of bars, museums or parks. Such sets of places are portrayed as ubiquitous, loosely distributed throughout urban space, and therefore difficult to grasp. Correspondingly, the kind of ontological fix performed by these orderings could be captured with a concept of space as "practiced place" (de Certeau, 1988: 117).

The *Berliner Luft* and the 'green city on the water' enact precisely natural and cultural spaces that in order to be real and experienced have to be practiced. The River Spree or Kreuzberg are unbounded urban spaces, which are produced only by means of practices. Such a way of enacting Berlin's ontology is not necessarily opposed to the primacy of place predominant in the first two orderings. Both ways of dealing with the objectual dimension of the destination can rather be seen as complementary, broadening its ontological complexity and enhancing its tourist appeal. Berlin appears then as a destination having both, specific

urban objects and places to gaze at, and unbounded spaces to explore and to be surrounded by.

The temporal dimension of sense, described by Luhmann (1995) as constituted by the distinction between 'before/after', is not connected with the enactment of an urban ontology of places and spaces. Space only partially equals time, since the latter does not regulate the relationships between presences and absences. Time, argues Luhmann (1995), is a sense-making process based on the difference between past and future, temporal horizons inscribed and produced in the present. In the case of the destination Berlin, such temporal horizons are clearly inscribed in the first two orderings analyzed. Even when the 'always-becoming city' may be embodied by places, which are objectually present, not absent, from a temporal perspective this ordering embodies the city's orientation to the future. The 'haunted city' is similarly, less about past events and periods that shaped Berlin's history, but rather about the way this past is processed in the present. Thus, by embodying and articulating both sides of this basic distinction past/future, these orderings complement each other's figuration of Berlin's identity.

Indeed, while the 'always-becoming city' is constituted by reference to an unreachable and utopian future, the 'haunted city' is oriented to an inescapable and dystopian past. Thus, Berlin is not portrayed as a historical city, as is the case of many other European destinations, but as a city where history is an open matter. Touring Berlin is rather about its present futures and present pasts. Such a double temporal reference is decisive for the production of the present. The kind of present produced by these orderings, since it differs from both, past and future, appears as full of events and characterized by constant change, producing an agonistic experience of Berlin's present. It is perhaps this temporal configuration that induces many tour guides and guidebooks authors to describe Berlin as the modern city par excellence or, as the historian Alexandra Richie (1999) calls it, 'a Faust's metropolis'.

The kinds of past and future inscribed in the descriptions of *Berliner Luft* and 'green city on the water' exhibit quite a different quality. Indeed, these orderings convey descriptions of the present cultural and natural embeddedness of Berlin. Certainly, there are some retrospective descriptions concerning the sociocultural and natural landscapes of the city, but these open homogenous horizons, which emphasize continuities between past and present. From the Berliners' way of talking and mentality to their beloved and diverse parklife, the

crucial aspects of these orderings of destination identity portray a particular urban condition that remains more or less unaltered by time. In the case of the *Berliner Luft* such temporal continuity is produced through references to the Roaring Twenties, which are portrayed as embodying an urban dynamic and flair equivalent to the present. In the case of the 'green city on the water' historical continuity is ensured by linking the current centrality of nature with the history of West Berlin. Such references to the past do not remit to historical time narratives, as in the case of the 'always-becoming' and 'haunted city', but to multiple stories: the story of the Hauptmann of Köpenick, the story of the exhibitionists of Grünewald, the story of the trendsetters in the Kastanienallee. The kind of present produced through such stories is not experienced in the agonistic terms of the 'always-becoming city' and 'haunted city', but with the confidence that it is a present that is here to stay.

This opposition between History and stories and thereby between two types of presents is a constituent of the destination Berlin. Luhmann (1995) argues that such tensions between event and existence, between change and duration, are characteristic of the temporal dimension of sense. At least since the 1980's, anthropologists have been particularly critical about History, for it would involve a naturalization and spatialization of time that leads to an exoticization of the Other (Fabian, 2002), as well as a production of atemporality that reproduces the *status quo* (Herzfeld, 1987). Consequently 'story time' has been praised for being closer to the ambit of social practices (de Certeau, 1988). Rather than favouring one over the other, tourism introduces and produces both kinds of temporal distinctions to make sense of the destination. Berlin's temporal sense of place results then out of the unique mixture of an agonistic History, on the one hand, and a multiplicity of stories, on the other hand.

There is yet another perspective for dealing with sense, which is based on the distinction *alter*/*ego*. Luhmann (1995) speaks of a social dimension of sense and stresses that this dimension does not refer to the distinction of humans or subjects, but to the definition of epistemic positions. The distinction between *alter* and *ego* regulate such positions by defining social horizons of knowledge, experience and agency. From this perspective, the unique sense of place attributed to Berlin is expressed in the social horizons and epistemic positions attributed to tourists and inhabitants.

The ‘always-becoming city’ and the ‘haunted city’ describe Berlin as immersed in complex processes of transformation and remembrance, which take place independently from the city user’s horizons of practice and knowledge. By portraying the city as being shaped by an eigen-dynamics, both orderings operate a separation between users (residents, commuters, tourists) and the city, undermining users’ agency capacities in the shaping of urban processes. Residents are even stripped of their fund of knowledge and familiarity with the city. Within these orderings memories of the past haunt the city and insinuations of the future are always changing. Residents and tourists become mere spectators of the complex intertwinements of past, present and future in the urban landscape. Local knowledge based on familiarity, life-world and everyday experience, is thus deprived of any authority, whilst tourist knowledge remains an adequate mode of approaching and grasping the city. In this context, tourist modes of urban knowledge become valuable for city-residents as means of getting a more reliable and comprehensive sense of their own city. For tourists this means that they are not strangers anymore or, at least, not stranger than the residents. Moreover, tourists move in a privileged epistemic position, for they can spend more time and money on sources of information, techniques of visualization (books, maps, buses, tours, etc.), and activities exclusively dedicated to glean from and discover the contemporary city. Thus, by touring the city, tourists are made into ideal users.

The position of the tourist is differently defined in the last two orderings analysed, the *Berliner Luft* and the ‘green city on the water’, which indeed highlight Berlin’s urban everyday life. The urban cultures and natures enacted through these orderings are not presented as independent from its users, but as performed in the practices of city residents. In this sense, the city is not equated to an entity able to act independently, but appears as an assemblage of everyday practices and spaces disseminated through urban space. These spaces are portrayed as inherently produced and inhabited by city residents, who have the appropriate tacit knowledge to successfully manage them. On the contrary, the kind of knowledge available to tourists only suffices to get a glimpse of what Berlin’s park life or night life is like. From this perspective, an unbridgeable gap separates the types of urban knowledges available to city residents and those to visitors. In any case, as Luhmann (1995) remarks, this kind of asymmetrization refers to epistemic positions and not to actual individuals, who can strategically move and alternate between them. Berlin appears then as a unique city that compels visitors to act as tourists and as locals, and residents to combine local and tourist modes of urban knowledge.

4. Visualising Berlin: Diagrams of Tourist Space

Tourist destinations are spatial achievements. They are not just produced by orderings of destination identity, but also need to be rendered into spatially extended objects. Destination space is thus a virtual topology, which is real, even if not actualised in stone, and ideal, even though not merely an abstraction of tourist practices. This chapter and the following analyse processes of enacting tourist space and even though they focus on different objects of study they constitute one analytical unit.

In this chapter I show that a theoretical reassessment of touristic space is indeed necessary, for the common focus on material-physical and symbolic-representational spaces of tourism has diluted out (tourist) devices and operations producing geometrical space (1). One promising alternative to this blind spot, I suggest, is to further develop the concept of 'visualicity', proposed by Rob Shields, and to use it for the study of tourist maps (2). I analyse in some detail two basic operations involved in the productions of visualizations of urban destinations as a whole: spatial distinctions (3) and objectual arrangements (4). I conclude by understanding the virtual and performative nature of touristic maps as diagrams or abstract machines (5).

4.1. Reassessing the Geometry of Tourist Space

Space is a constituent dimension of tourism. There is no other aspect or dimension of the phenomenon of tourism which has attracted such a consensus among practitioners, students and theorists: physical movement through geometrical space is a necessary condition for tourism. Despite this consensus (or perhaps precisely because of it), the nature and quality of tourist space has been little discussed (for an exception, see Coleman and Crang, 2002b). Indeed, most tourism studies rely upon a conception of space as an absolute and constant set of three-dimensional coordinates upon which tourist travels and practices take place. In the opinion of David Crouch, "the space in which tourism happens is an inert field predicated by its representation. The experience and 'practice' of tourism is itself represented as operating on an inscribed surface" (Crouch, 2002: 208).

The most salient example of such understanding is the influential definition used by the World Tourism Organisation, the most important international agency for tourism development and management: 'tourism includes all travel that involves a stay of at least one

night, but less than one year, away from home'. Two connected assumptions are central here: firstly that stable territorial boundaries exist between home and away and secondly that touring involves being away from home. This definition has proved extremely successful in framing a common understanding of tourism, being nowadays not just used by most destination management offices, but also by an influential number of scholars (e.g. Hall and Page, 2002; Judd and Fainstein, 1999; Shaw and Williams, 1994). The convenience of such a definition is that it permits a focus on the economic dimension of tourism, which is equated to the main visitor-oriented industries, particularly the entertainment and hotel industries. From this economic perspective, any cultural particularities of tourism or the tourist remain concealed: "quintessentially, the tourist is a consumer away from home" (Fainstein and Judd, 1999: 14).

Even in cultural studies of tourism, increasingly attracted by issues of space, it is not the geometry of tourist space what is under discussion, but the notion of bounded and culturally homogeneous places. Indeed, a central focus of critique has been the "presumption of not only a unity of place and culture, but also of the immobility of both in relation to a cartographically coordinated space" (Lury, 1997: 75)..Tourism, it is pointed out, is not just about the circulation of people, but also about the circulation of objects and images. Objects, for example, develop specific dynamics of travelling and dwelling, which are not animated by the agency of human actors but rather inscribed in their own object-ness as contexts of use (Lury, 1997). Lury's description of traveller-, tripper- and tourist-objects show that "cultures travel as well as people; and yet part of what is involved in the movement of cultures is the migration of objects and peoples" (Rojek and Urry, 1997: 11). In my view, while such perspectives unveil major biases in tourism studies regarding the relationships of culture and place, they do not question the predominant conception of space as an absolute set of three-dimensional coordinates *upon* which people, objects, images or cultures move, travel or are displaced[1].

Similarly, studies focusing on the physical construction and restructuring of places, and on the production of place-images and symbols have likewise left the constructed character of geometrical space unattended. Certainly, describing and showing the physical

[1] It seems that Martina Löw (2001) was right when she noted that even though a relative broad consensus exists on the need to rethink space anew as something embodied, flexible and relational, most authors do not accurately describe the actual processes required for the constitution of space.

transformations of destinations, as well as the attributions of values, symbols and identities to particular places have proved to be a major challenge in tourism studies. While Sharon Zukin's 'symbolic economy' (1996a) has become the preferred model for studies focusing on urban environments, Rob Shields' 'social spatialisation' has partaken on this role for studies of tourist destinations in general. 'Social spatialisation' is primarily a process consisting of:

> "[…] the ongoing social construction of the spatial at the level of the social imaginary (collective mythologies, presuppositions) as well as interventions in the landscape (for example the build environment). This name allow us to name an object of study which encompasses both the cultural logic of the spatial and its expression and elaboration in language and more concrete actions, constructions and institutional arrangements" (Shields, 1991: 31).

Particularly influential for the description of tourist imaginary geographies have been Shields' concepts of 'place-images', understood as hypostases of real space into the realm of symbolic meanings, and of 'place-myths' that are composed of collections of several 'place-images'.

Shields' take on space, like Zukin's, distinguishes between a material-physical and a cultural-symbolic dimension of space, but does not assess its underlying geometry. In my view, the distinction of a 'material' or a 'symbolic' dimension is insufficient to investigate the process how space emerges as a medium through which tourism unfolds. Indeed, adding symbolic space as a representational layer, and concentrating on it, often obscures how the most basic spatial distinctions and experiences are effects of a relational and performative construction.

In order to find an alternative perspective, I shall shortly consider two analogous cases, namely, the distinctions sex/gender and disease/illness; cases where a scholarly focus on symbolic constructions impeded the analytical deconstruction of 'taken-for-granted' realities. The distinction sex/gender involves an incommensurable difference between gender, which is understood as a psychological, social and cultural issue, and sex, which is related to the biology of the body. Donna Haraway (1991) argues that the work of the psychoanalyst Robert Stoller using the findings of the Gender Identity Research Project established in 1958 at the University of California at Los Angeles for the study of intersexuals and transsexuals was crucial to formulate "the concept of gender identity within the framework of the biology/culture distinction, such that sex was related to biology (hormones, genes, nervous system, morphology) and gender was related to culture (psychology, sociology)" (Haraway, 1991: 133). The problem with such distinction, argued Haraway, is that it leaves the concept

and the nature of sex untouched[2]. Therefore, her work was precisely oriented to analytically deconstruct and figuratively rethink taken-for-granted distinctions such as that between sexes or between humans, animals and machines.

Annemarie Mol (2002) argues similarly, that the unmarked category in sociological and anthropological studies of medicine is disease. The distinction disease/illness was introduced in the 1950s by Talcott Parsons, who invented the field of medical sociology by defining its object of study as illness or, rather, the personal and cultural meaning of biological disease. Since then, argues Mol, "[s]ocial scientists […] had something to say in addition to existing medical knowledge [… A]part from being a physical reality, having a disease has a *meaning* for the patient in question" (Mol, 2002: 7). Even though social scientists went a step further later on, to point out that doctors also have a cultural perspective on diseases and that medical knowledge is cultural, Mol argues that this perspectivism leave disease untouched as a physical and biological reality inside the body and is also a source of political weakness, since "whatever one may say about "illness", as long as "disease" is accepted as a natural category, and left unanalysed, those who talk in its name will always have the last word" (Mol, 2002: 22).

My analysis of geometrical space is inspired by the work of Haraway and Mol and, particularly, by their (to my mind, successful) attempts to deconstruct 'taken-for-granted' distinctions and to reveal the constructedness of the supposedly hard facts of life (biology, technology, space). As explained above, tourism is commonly understood as movement of people, objects, images *upon* geometrical space, whilst tourist attractions amount to material constructions situated *within* such space. At the same time, the world of tourism is analysed as a representational layer *upon* and is equated to a set of representational practices taking place *within* space. Maintaining such distinction between geometrical, and material and/or symbolic space is, in my view, misleading and contra-productive, since it reproduces a notion of geometrical space existing prior to society and tourism.

Therefore, I focus on the tourist production of this kind of immaterial and non-representational (pre-symbolic) space. Instead of stressing the symbolization performances of

[2] Particularly during the 1960's and 1970's Haraway observes the use and abuse of the concept of gender by feminist movements fighting biological determinism and insisting on the social shaping of gender. By fighting biological determinism, these movements left biological realities and distinctions unquestioned.

tourism and tourists, the focus is on the character of what appears to be an absolute and underlying geometrical space. The main objective is then to investigate the most basic operations and procedures through which the geometry of tourist space is constituted as a medium through which tourism unfolds. Rather than showing the symbolic politics and economy of Berlin's urban space or the ways in which Berlin's objects or cultures travel around the world, the objective is to look at the space of destination Berlin as relational and performative spatial achievements that have to be explained and not just taken for granted.

4.2. The Mechanics of Visualicity and the Study of Tourist Maps

In March 2007 the German weekly magazine *Der Spiegel* published a story about Berlin's comeback as a world-city. In addition to the usual set of interviews with different urban actors, politicians and scholars about Berlin's contemporary socio-cultural life, perhaps the most interesting element of the magazine was the panoramic image on the cover which portrayed Berlin's main landmarks and depicted the city as a world centre without comparison throughout Western Europe (see Figure 3.1.).

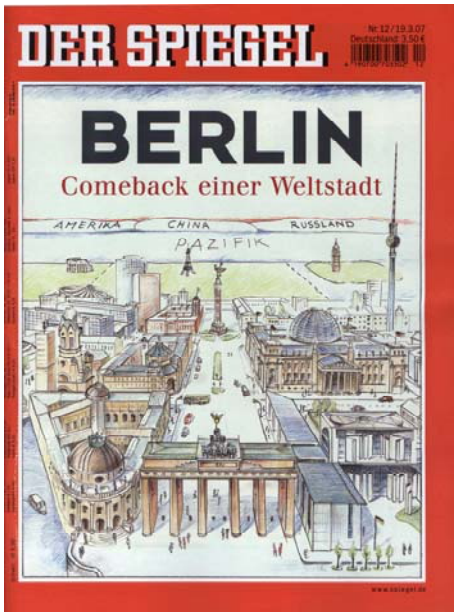

Figure 3.1. "Berlin. Comeback einer Weltstadt" by I. Kuhlmann. Cover page of *Der Spiegel*. March 19, 2007

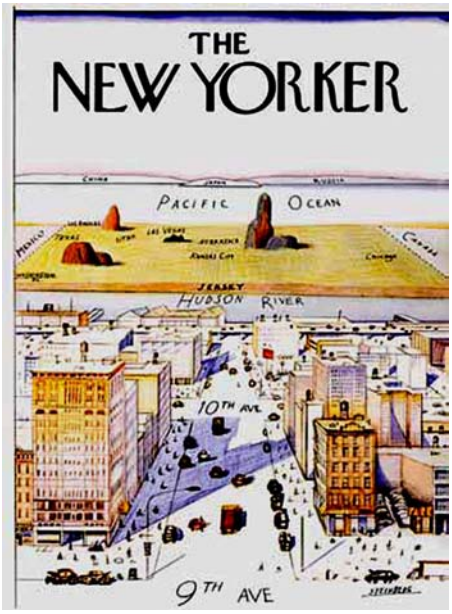

Figure 3.2. "View of the World From 9th Avenue" by S. Steinberg. Cover page of the *The New Yorker*. March 29, 1976

The image was a direct visual quote of Steinberg's famous drawing "View of the World From 9th Avenue" published in 1976 by *The New Yorker* (see Figure 3.2.). Still *Der Spiegel*'s cover differed in some significant aspects. While Steinberg's figure focuses on the world and how this looks like from a New Yorker's perspective, *Der Spiegel*'s cover seeks to represent Berlin *and* its perspective on the world, adding therefore another layer of observation not included in the original picture. While *Der Spiegel* quotes Steinberg's image to claim that Berlin is a world-city comparable to New York, it departs from it to depict Berlin's main urban landmarks. Indeed, by not referring to urban landmarks that permit the reader to identify the viewer's standpoint, Steinberg's panoramic image takes New York for granted. Berlin, in contrast, is not taken for granted. Its main attractions need to be depicted and the world-city claim made explicit in the headline.

A second important reference in *Der Spiegel*'s cover, which may be concealed or forgotten given the explicit quotation of Steinberg's picture, is the tradition of panoramic views and drawings of cities, also characteristic of tourist brochures and postcards. *Der Spiegel*'s cover assembles together Berlin's main landmarks,–'what ought to be seen' (Koshar, 1998)- in a way that neglects cartographic conceptions of urban space. The appearance of the city as a simultaneity of sites and sights may count as a good example of Urry's (1990) description of the tourist gaze as constituted by visual collections of already-existing representations. However, by depicting the Brandenburg Gate and connecting it to a

long urban axis formed by a grand avenue, the image becomes more a representation of urban space than an abstract collection of tourist sights and symbols. The cover of *Der Spiegel* plays thus with a tension between the part and the whole characteristic of the panorama, unveiling "our faith that the totality of the urban can be glimpsed from a part" (Shields, 2004: 23). There is, however, one important difference with the tradition of urban panoramas. The drawing freely plays with the spatial arrangement of all depicted objects, buildings, monuments and landmarks, forcing the viewer to reflect on his/her own image of the city in order to figure out what is displaced and where it should be.

The cover of *Der Spiegel* calls attention to central tensions of visual representations of cities, which are also key dimensions for my approach to the production of tourist space. It makes clear that urban visualicity is not about the accuracy of the visible and tangible, but about potentialities and virtualities (Shields, 2004). Indeed, panoramic views, tourist maps and spatial diagrams cannot just be viewed as simplified representations of the visible or material urban environment. Following Shields, the images conjured for visualising cities "are neither material nor are they simply abstractions (as in the case of representations of data). They are better understood as virtual – idealizations but not abstractions; real but not accurate visions of an actually-existing object" (Shields, 2004: 26). In this sense, the cover of *Der Spiegel* is not showing an abstraction of Berlin material or symbolic space, but enacting the invisible principles of Berlin's spatial geometry -"the logical and connotative system in which representations are formed" (Shields, 2004: 32). Thus, instead of reducing the complexity of the urbane, such visualizations add new layers of complexitiy "which, like a daydream or déjà vu, may be experienced as more real than the concrete world of everyday life" (Shields, 2004: 26).

It is possible to expand Shields' concept of visualicity, by identifying at least two principles of that 'logical and connotative system'. Indeed, *Der Spiegel*'s image embodies a tension between two operations involved in the production of a basic geometry of space: the introduction of *spatial distinctions* and of *objectual arrangements*. In traditonal panoramic views both operations are coordinated, reinforcing each other and making the image unquestionable. In *Der Spiegel*'s cover both ambits are at odds with each other, making evident that spatial distinctions and objectual arrangements are two correlated, but independent operations involved in the production of space.

These two operations, spatial distinctions and objectual arrangements, constitute the core dimensions of my analysis of the mechanics of tourist visualicity. This chapter studies these mechanics by systematically looking at one central visual artefact and device used in tourism for visualising destination spaces: tourist maps. There are three main arguments underlying and underpinning the decision to focus on maps. Firstly, tourist maps are clearly a central indispensable tool for tourists, specially at urban locales, for the organisation of touring practices, the planning the activities of the day, etc. As Lynch argued in relation to mental maps, tourist maps are devices that permit tourists to avoid "the mishap of disorientation […] and the sense of anxiety and even terror that accompanies it" (Lynch, 1960: 4). Tourist maps can be then understood as bearers of tourists' environmental images, which rather than being mental are inscribed in durable and visible materials such as paper sheets, guidebooks, flyers and brochures. As external material devices closely associated with tourists, tourist maps are central markers leading to the identification of a person as a tourist and are just as ubiquitous as cameras. The central participation of tourist maps in the urban knowledge and practices enacted by tourists is why these maps are produced by most stakeholders in the tourism industry, from tourism management organisations to restaurants and shopping malls over tour agencies and hotels.

Secondly, the spatial distinctions and arrangements inscribed in tourist maps tend to be more stable than those produced by individuals. My analysis of tourist space departs thus in yet another way from the traditional perspectives on the production of space, such as Lynch's (1960) analyses of mental maps or Lefebvre's (1991b) or de Certeau's (1988) descriptions of spatial tactics and representational space. Indeed, despite of the fundamental differences between cognitive and praxeological approaches, these authors do share a common human-centred conception of the process of production of space[3]. Following a rather post-human perspective, this chapter is based on the understanding that tourists are embedded in large socio-technical networks of technological devices, texts, images, maps and a large array of entities, which are collectively involved in the tourist production of space[4].

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[3] While in the work of Lynch this comes up with the emphasis on the mind, Lefebvre's and de Certeau's humanism is based on simple binary oppositions (small/large, weak/powerful, tactic/strategy, practice/system, mobility/grid, etc.) and on an implicit romanticism, which leads them to conceive an idealized subterranean world of evasive urban tactics produced by the weak (see Thrift 2004).

[4] This 'post-human' approach echoes not just the use of Actor-Network Theory, but is also closely connected with the theoretical decision of understanding tourism as a form of societal communication. Niklas Luhmann's

Lastly, tourist maps have mostly been dismissed in tourism studies. One central contention, particularly common in the geography of tourism, is that studying these maps is not really worthwhile, "because of their blatant biases as advertisements and/or their flagrant disregard of the cartographic rule for accurately modelling reality" (Del Casino Jr. and Hanna, 2000: 23). Another reason for their dismissal is that they are often considered to be mere representations, irrelevant for the analysis of tourists' embodied performances of space and place. The few scholarly works on tourist maps assess them as embodying complex relationships of space, identity, representation, and intertextuality. In the introduction to *Mapping Tourism*, hitherto the only volume I know exclusively dedicated to its study, the editors celebrate the wide range of topics that can be examined under the aegis of tourist maps:

> "Theoretically, our authors address issues regarding the interrelationships between space and representation and space and identity, the processes of social spatialization, the selling of a place, the intersections of memory, the tensions that mark the "boundaries" between subjectivity and power, and the contested reproduction of landscapes as texts" (Hanna and Del Casino Jr., 2003a: xii).

The research agenda on tourist maps described by the editors points to tourist maps as being 'not just' producers of space, but rather as artefacts entwined with the production and reproduction of social and cultural identities. Certainly, very complex relationships of space, identity and representation are inscribed and can be read in all main objects and devices of tourism such as maps, guidebooks, tours and photography. Thereby, however, the specific qualities or performance of each of these devices –be maps, guidebooks or cameras- regarding their modes of 'doing space' can remain unnoticed. Indeed, while concentrating excessively on the symbolic embeddedness of tourist maps, such approaches tend to pass over the question about their operation as producers of space and the simple, but fundamental question about the operation of tourist maps as a "quintessential "spatial" technology" (Brown and Perry, 2001: 30)[5].

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approach to communication emphasizes the ability of tracing distinction is inscribed in chains of self-referential communication, to which not just humans are coupled, but also things such as machines, computers, texts and images.

[5] This has been studied by scholars in the field of computer science involved in what they call a geography of technology and concerned with the potential of new technologies, such as "context-aware" systems based on ultrasound, GPS or cell-tracking, for the production of new touristic devices (see Brown & Laurier 2005). Such studies focus mostly on the interface between tourists and maps and highlight the informative uses and

4.3. Tracing Distinctions: The Production of Tourist Boundaries and Areas

Cartography is often understood as the science of accurately measuring and representing the world (see Hanna and Del Casino Jr., 2003a; Law, 2002b; Serres, 1995). Tourist maps depicting primarily the urban grid of a destination, such as the Berlin overview map of the guidebook Lonely Planet (see Figure 3.3.), could certainly be interpreted in that way; i.e. as cartographic representations of the city that have no impact on the space they claim to represent. Indeed, if the Lonely Planet map is compared with the tourist maps analysed in the book *Mapping Tourism* (Hanna and Del Casino Jr., 2003b), it is evident that this kind of maps are of no interest to critical geographers, probably because they do not present enough material for interpreting the relationships between local and tourists identities, place-myths, city-marketing, etc. The absence of maps like this one in such analyses is, in my view, highly problematic, because it leaves the impression that they are just cartographic representations not involved in the tourist production of space. It is as though caricatures, drawings, pictures and other tourist symbols are the only visual representations involved in the production of space. It is because this map does not say much about social and tourist identities that it is a particularly useful starting point for our investigation into maps as spatial devices or technologies.

Figure 3.3. Overview Map of Lonely Planet Guidebook. 2002

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collaborative practices that maps foster, in disguise of an analysis of the basic principles, distinctions and arrangements of space inscribed in touristic maps.

The first feature that meets the eye is that the space of the destination is represented as a rather homogenous and non-differentiated zone. It is important to note that neighbourhoods are not differentiated by colours and that there are no visual over-statements indicating tourist attractions, facilities or neighbourhoods. The only urban elements highlighted by the map are the main streets and Berlin's underground, the U-Bahn, which is not abstractly represented, as on the normal transport system maps, but embedded in the urban grid. Other mass transport networks, such as trams or buses are excluded. Inter-city train routes, the S-Bahn, are depicted, but not highlighted. These elements make clear that the map is not just a navigational device for users moving around within the city (as abstract transportation maps), but also a visual artefact for situating their movements within the urban geography of the city and for visualizing the city.

Apart from this, this map demonstrates one of the most basic principles or procedures for the production of space, namely, the introduction of spatial distinctions. The basic form of distinctions has been modelled by the mathematician George Spencer Brown in his book *Laws of Form* (Spencer-Brown, 1994). Apart from proposing a post-binary logic that permits recursivity and paradoxes to be formalized, he suggests that tracing of distinctions produces space. A distinction, he explains, is a two-sided form dividing the world into an indicated or marked space and an unmarked space including all that is not indicated in the marked space[6]. Interestingly, as Dirk Baecker explains, "this space arises not, say, as the bounded space of the distinction, but as this delimitation and the prerequisite of this delimitation" (Baecker, 2005: 82, transl. IF).[i] Spatial distinctions can then be understood as borders constituting space as the territory where borders are inscribed. Rob Shields points out that "[t]o the extent that borders are inelastic, they establish the fixity of this shape. To the extent that they are porous to different flows, they establish the degree to which a territory is exclusive" (Shields, 2006: 225). Borders as spatial distinctions, argues Shields, cannot just be understood as material and concrete fences –'the concrete exo-skeleton of gates, fences, signage or border posts'-, but rather as 'intangible-but-real-things' traced in political and symbolic spaces and embodied by objects and devices.

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[6] Since every distinction eliminates external references, it becomes its own condition of possibility. "Distinction is perfect continence", argues Spencer Brown (1994: 1). It is self-referent and self-sufficient, being therefore possible to rephrase the biblical statement by saying 'In the non-beginning there was a distinction' (see Mascareño 2006).

What does this mean for Lonely Planet's map? Do the spatial distinctions inscribed in that map signal the actual borders of Berlin as a destination? To answer these questions it is particularly helpful to distinguish between borders and boundaries using the terms recently proposed by Rob Shields (2006). Tourist maps enact borders through the production of boundaries, which are not just representations. Indeed, rather than signs, abstractions or representations of borders, boundaries are virtual and therefore real spatial distinctions:

> "The significance of a dotted line on a map is not its own inky materiality. It abstractly represents a border somewhere. But the history of colonialism is full of examples where lines drawn on maps were figured on the ground only much later. Such lines are more than representations or boundary-marking; they are virtual borders which prefigure concrete lines on the landscape" (Shields, 2006: 227).

Paying attention to the spatial distinctions traced in the Lonely Planet map makes possible an understanding of how this map functions as a spatial device. The first set of boundaries is defined by the limits of the page. This map does not cover the whole city, as it excludes some urban areas and attractions which are of interest for some tourists, such as the museums in South Zehlendorf, the zoo Tierpark to the East and Schönefeld Airport to the south-east. It does however explicitly include some urban areas or infrastructures not usually visited by tourists. Whilst including almost the totality of the suburban zones sprawling toward the West of Berlin, and showing thereby how the city (brown-yellow) slowly fades out into green and blue areas, the map does not show other suburban and peripheral areas, particularly those extending towards the East. Indeed, at the right end of the map a sharp cut sets the boundary between the city and its eastern extension, making evident that the city continues, but that this is not part of the tourist space of Berlin. The map sets out a clear and categorical definition of the destination as a whole and its borders through the use of such first set of boundaries.

A second set of boundaries is drawn by means of a grid demarcating seven different urban areas within the space of the destination. This makes evident yet another important function of the map, namely, the indication within the whole of particular tourist areas. This is again done on two levels. On the first the map demarcates four main areas, which are represented in more detail in other maps in the guidebook. This basic grid is displaced to the right and its internal boundaries fit urban major spatial distinction. The horizontal boundary separating areas 3 and 4, from 5 and 6 matches the West-East urban axis formed by the streets Birsmarckstraße, Straße des 17. Juni and Unter den Linden – also represented on the cover of *Der Spiegel*. The vertical boundary reflects roughly existing borders between urban districts,

concretely between Wedding, Tiergarten and Schöneberg (left or to the west of the boundary) and Prenzlauer Berg, Mitte and Kreuzberg (right or to the east of the boundary). On the second level, three further specific urban areas are bounded. Areas 7 and 8 are particularly interesting, for they circumscribe two urban centres, which, surprisingly, are of the same size, as though West and East Berlin's centres were equivalent in size. In this way, they offer a functional, visual representation of the image of Berlin as a divided city. The map of West Berlin's centre includes too much detail, particularly towards the West and South, while the map of East Berlin's centre includes too little detail, omitting the so-called Spanduer Vorstadt towards the North.

One of the main achievements of maps is to transform boundaries into 'taken for granted' borders, thereby fostering a particular form of visualization and experience of the city. Looking more closely, it is possible to recognize two principle spatial formations produced by these boundaries: the *demarcation of tourist areas* and the *creation of inner frontiers*. The latter formation is, in the case of Berlin, absolutely central for the tourist visualization of the city. Indeed, the indication of a frontier between East and West Berlin is still today a ubiquitous element in many visual representation of city space (see Figures 3.4. and 3.5.). Indeed, more than 15 years after the fall of the Wall some contemporary maps show no major differences from maps dating from the beginning of the 1980's. Since in both cases the frontier traced by the Wall is the main visual element organizing space, it is practically impossible to figure out which of the lines represents a physical border and which creates a tourist virtual boundary.

Figure 3.4. DTV-Merian Reiseführer. Inside Front-Cover. 1982-1989

Figure 3.5. Baedeker. 2005, p. 19

The difference between the two maps is indeed less radical than one could expect. However, the map on the left, adds a visual element that makes evident the materiality of the border represented. The red points over the border indicate crossing-points, making evident that the boundary represents a material border otherwise not crossable and that the map fulfils a practical function. The map on the right, on the other hand, visually plays with the tension between the old and the contemporary spatial organization of Berlin's urban space. It stresses old spatial distinctions, particularly the course of the Wall, but also frontiers between districts nowadays melted together, which in the light of contemporary spatial organization of Berlin's space, appear as divisions. Today's geography, suggested through texts and colours, is a geography of unification. Berlin and its neighbourhoods have been unified.

A second type of spatial formation created by means of boundaries is tourist areas. These have received important attention in the literature, particularly through the description of 'environmental bubbles' (Cohen, 1972), 'tourist bubbles' (Judd, 1999) or 'enclavic tourist spaces' (Edensor, 1998). All these concepts point to bounded spaces located all over the world, used exclusively for leisure and recreation and cut off from the local environments where they are located. Thanks to spatial borders and multiple security systems, these bubbles act as shelters for tourists controlling all kinds of exchanges (smells, food, bullets, persons, etc.) with the local environment. However, while they are directly connected to the 'total institutions' of tourism (Edensor, 1998) such as cruise-ships, hotels or resorts, they are more difficult to find in urban areas. Fainstein and Judd (1999) argue that cities affected by industrial decay, post-socialist transition or other larger social problems that would make the

city unattractive for tourists, are more prone to having such 'tourist bubbles'. But apart from such cases, the concept of enclaves does not contribute much to the understanding of the creation and theming of tourist areas, for "much tourist space is more hybrid than might be apparent, and many tourist spaces are typified by an interpenetration of enclavic and heterogeneous space" (Edensor, 1998: 60).

The difficulty pointed out by Tim Edensor is more salient in big cities, where tourist spaces are often mixed in with residential spaces. It does not, however follow that urban areas are not subject to a constant and multi-layered process of tourist *boundary*-drawing and re-drawing (Shields, 2006). Most urban tourist areas, however, are not properly understood, if equated to enclaves materially cut off from the city or if defined as attending to physical or normative *borders*. They are rather, virtual areas existing within the destination as a virtual object. Whilst not carved in stone, they are however relatively fixed in maps and other visual materials, such as guidebooks, brochures, or manual sketches made by locals. The reality of these urban areas, and of their boundaries, can be recognized by their effects in terms of tourist visualicity and the theming of particular urban areas and of the creation of a virtual tourist geography of the urban destination.

Moving from borders to boundaries facilitates an acknowledgement of strategies for the production and reproduction of tourist areas in complex urban settings, which are visually enacted in tourist maps. The first of these strategies is the segmentation of urban space in tourist 'consumption-scapes' and its main result is the identification of urban areas associated with urban activities, urban flairs and leisure and shopping infrastructures. An example of this strategy can be found in the map of Berlin included in the new Wallpaper City Guide published by Phaidon in 2007 (see Figure 3.6.). This guidebook claims to be "a passport to the best the world has to offer" (2007: back cover) and promises its rather sophisticated audience –the 'design-conscious traveller'- "a real taste of the city's landscape and the satisfaction that you've seen all that you should" (2007: back cover). Design, landscape, and consumption are at the centre of this rather compact guidebook, qualities that are indeed reflected in their map of Berlin and in the descriptions of its neighbourhoods. Rather than highlighting boundaries of tourist districts, the map emphasizes their inner homogeneity by colouring them. The city appears to be composed of a handful of neighbourhoods, the pieces of an urban jigsaw puzzle. At the beginning of the guide, the function of these coloured neighbourhoods is made plain:

Figure 3.6. Phaidon Guidebook. Inside back-cover. 2007

> "To help you navigate the city, we've chosen the most interesting districts (see the map inside the back cover) and underlined featured venues in colour, according to their location (see below); those venues that are outside these areas are not coloured" (Phaidon 2007: 7).

Correspondingly, throughout the guide the names of hotels, restaurants, attractions situated in Friedrichshain are written in red, those in Prenzlauer Berg in green etc.

Colouring homogeneously urban areas situates the map in the visual tradition of political maps and implies categorical and inflexible borders around the represented districts. Interestingly, despite its use of visual language to represent differences in urban flair, leisure and consumption, it overlooks the contemporary political-administrative division of Berlin. Indeed, in all cases excepting Schöneberg, the boundaries of the represented districts follow the old administrative divisions. Apart from the colours, the guide includes short descriptions of the main characteristics of the neighbourhoods, ascribing to them a certain homogeneity. Certain urban spaces are associated with certain social groups and activities. Thus, while Kreuzberg constitutes 'the cultural meeting pot of the city with plenty of places to eat and socialise', Mitte is 'the old city centre, exciting new architecture and stylish boutiques – it's all here', Charlottenburg is 'home of the main shopping drag plus a host of upmarket restaurants and hotels', etc.

Another technique for the ascription of homogeneity to tourist areas consists of associating them with particular historical periods. A very clear example of this distribution of history through the urban landscape can be found in the ADAC Guidebook of 2005. While

guidebooks usually structure their sections by type of activity, this guidebook is organized into 16 zones, each of them listing between five and eighteen attractions. All zones have titles suggesting that they may be spatially integrated and that they share particular historical, social, cultural, natural characteristics and therefore may be perceived as urban units. This, again, supposes neglecting other historical periods and social actors in order to maintain the spatial unity or identity. In such a context, the tourist map functions as a visual device distributing not just history throughout space, but also agency throughout history. It permits the forces that shaped the city to be visualized and thereby constitutes historical agencies.

The spatial distinction of tourist neighbourhoods can be further understood as the simultaneous delimitation of localities of local *and* tourist practices. From an ethnographic perspective, neighbourhoods have been mostly understood as that part of the anonymous public space that, as a result of quotidian practices of space, have become a particularized private space (de Certeau et al., 1998). From this perspective, neighbourhoods constitute practical devices whose function is to bridge the gap between the most intimate spaces (home) and the most anonymous space (the whole city). Such an approach permit an understanding of the distinction of tourist neighbourhoods in maps from a double perspective: on the one hand, boundaries delimit localities of urban practices; i.e. the homogenous locales and practical devices with which dwellers organize their urban experiences and practices. On the other hand, boundaries delimit localities of tourist practices; urban locales where tourists can develop a particular type of practices. In this latter sense, the performative character of tourist maps becomes evident as a device that, to put it in Lefebvre's words, permits the differentiation between a 'qualified space' and 'quantified space' (de Certeau et al., 1998). Thus, maps qualify spaces (neighbourhoods) as appropriate for tourist practices by drawing boundaries.

4.4. Placing Objects: Arranging and Assembling the 'System of Attractions'.

Spaces, and particularly tourist spaces, are produced by means of the arrangement and distribution of objects in sets of places. This notion, primarily developed by Niklas Luhmann (2000), focuses on the relation of objects and places as constituents of space and entails thereby a non-representational understanding of place. Places indicate positions in space that can be occupied by only one object at a time. From this perspective places are not primarily places of identity (de Certeau, 1988), but positions in space, which even though they are first defined by its occupation by an object, become independent from these objects. In other

words, the position of an object designates a place, which can still be observed as such after the object changes its position. By distinguishing places from objects (and thereby from identities), places become the basic elements of space as a medium for the measurement and movement of objects. Luhmann's (2000) definition of place (and space) overcomes thus the widely accepted opposition between place and space (see Augé, 1995; de Certeau, 1988; Delgado, 1999). Places, argues Luhmann (2000), can be defined by the movement they allow objects or, more precisely, in terms of access from there to other places.

Luhmann's suggestion that space is produced by the introduction of a distinction between object and place has been further developed by Martina Löw in her book *Raumsoziologie* (2001). Her main contribution derives from her critique of Luhmann's theory. She points out that he concentrates on the constitution of space through unique objects (*Einzeldinge*), neglecting thereby relationships between objects. Löw adds to Luhmann's analysis the question concerning the 'arrangement'[7] of multiple objects. She does this by introducing an analytical distinction between the process of positioning social goods and human beings ('spacing') and the posterior transformation of collections of social goods and human beings into integrated sets ('synthesising')[8]. Thus, whilst at one moment tourist space is produced by *spatial arrangements* of touristic objects and attractions, at the next moment it is produced by their *spatial assemblage*.

This perspective permits thus the addition of a new layer to the analysis of the tourist production of space in terms of the spatial arrangement of what Dean MacCannell (1999) called the 'system of attractions' (tourist sights, sites, etc.[9]). Tourist maps exhibit indeed high

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[7] I translate Löw's concept of 'Anordnungen' (literally, 'orderings') as 'arrangements', in order to avoid possible conceptual confusion with John Law's concept of 'orderings' used in chapter 2.

[8] Note that with this double movement she does not necessarily contradict Luhmann's analysis since in Luhmann's sociology objects are relationally defined (see Fuchs & Marshall 1998), there are no differences between one human being or a population of human beings. Thus, there are no ultimate differences between spacing and synthesising, being both operations the result of an operation by which an object is distinguished from its position. For Löw (2001), however, 'spacing' and 'synthesising' are not equivalent operations, for the simple reason that she maintains an ontological view of the objects – social goods and human beings- being arranged in space.

[9] Certainly, not just these attractions, but also boundaries and neighbourhoods can and should be understood as spatial objects. Indeed, as Rob Shields (2006) shows, borders and boundaries are not just edges, but interstitial spaces or limited zones, where unpredictable events, practices of contestation and contradictory discourses

degrees of freedom for the elaboration tourist geographies through the arrangements of attractions. In extreme cases, maps claim to represent destination space uniquely by placing objects in space and almost making no reference to central spatial distinctions, such as city-areas or the urban grid. Thus, for example, tourist maps can transform Berlin into an abstract space (see Figure 3.7.) or into a natural landscape (see Figure 3.8.). This latter map entitled '12 x Berlin – Places for Excursions' ['*Zwolfmal Berlin – Ausflugsziele'*] makes almost no references to the urban character of Berlin and renders the city into a landscape of apparently natural places to which to visit. It could be argued that this is so, because this map covers a big metropolitan area, including urban and suburban areas, but this is not completely accurate. If compared, for example, with Lonely Planet's overview map (see Figure 3.3.), which covers a similar area, it becomes clear that the decisive element is the way the map's background is represented. Instead of an urban grid formed by avenues and streets, this map opts for highlighting green and blue areas (parks, river, canal and lakes). Thus, even though main lines of urban transport (underground and inter city trains) are represented, they do not convey an urban character to Berlin. Indeed, against such 'suburban background', they could also be representing transport or train lines. Two further decisive points are the spatial placement of tourist attractions and their photographic representation. Despite being mostly concentrated in the centre of the city, attractions are sufficiently widespread on the map not to suggest the existence of a dense city centre. Their photographic portrayal is also crucial, since most attractions are detached from their direct urban environment and the city skyline.

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abound. They are virtual spaces, normatively defined as 'to-be-crossed', which however make possible some forms of habitation.

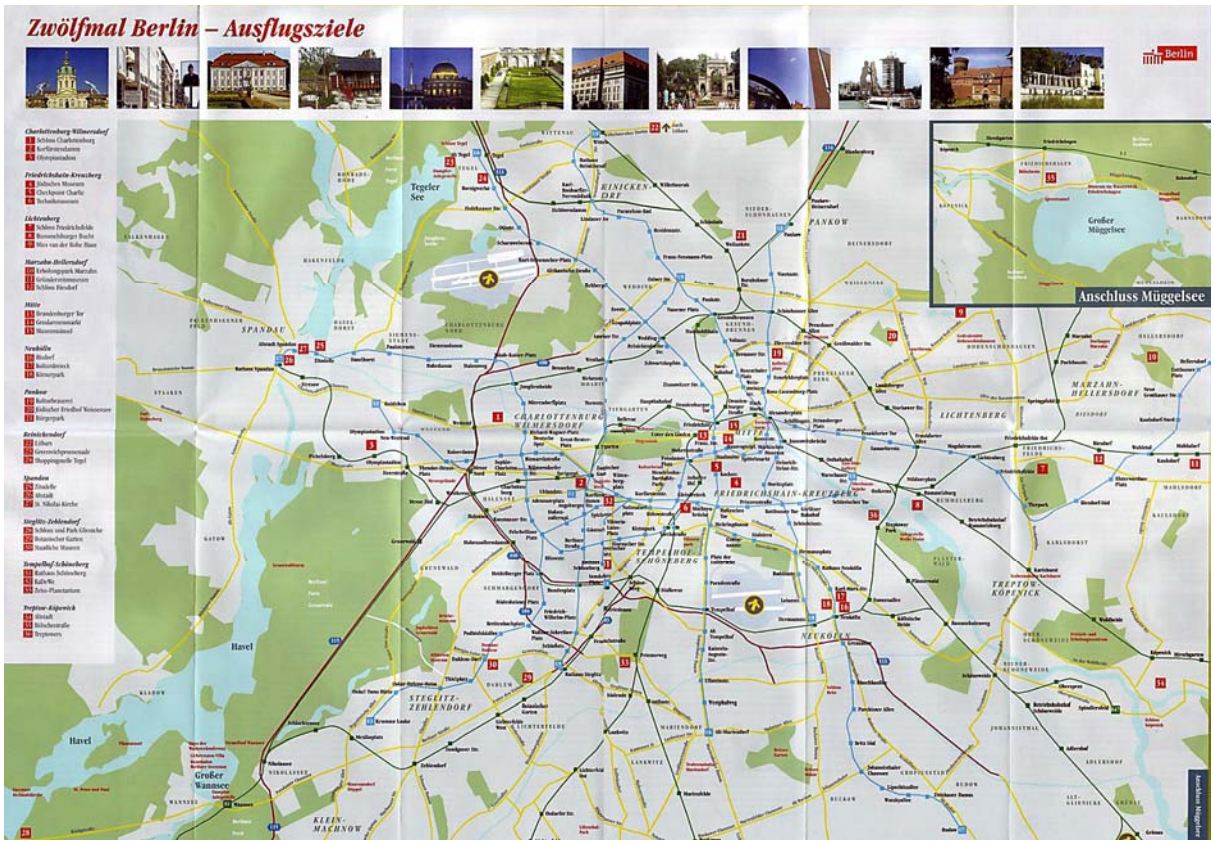

Figure 3.7. 'Ausflüge in Berlin. Zwölfmal Berlin'. Bezirksämter von Berlin. Februar 2007.

Figure 3.8. 'You want to know what is hot? The answer is Berlin and its art – 365 days a year'. In *Germany Art+Culture*, the German National Tourist Board, 2007, pp. 78-81.

These maps also allow a description of how large sets of urban objects are assembled together. As it can be seen above, tourist maps do not just distribute objects in space, but they

are also rendered into elements of larger sets, including for example 'Places for Excursions'. While some tourist maps define general sets of tourist objects, appealing to the general public and not distinguishing specific assemblages of objects, most maps introduce forms of spatially assembling tourist objects. A closer look at the maps above reveals the role played by textual indications at the margins of the map in the spatial assemblage of tourist objects. '12 x Berlin – Places for Excursions', for example, is based on assemblages (12 groups of three elements each) that reflect the administrative division of Berlin into 12 municipal districts. '12 x Berlin' claims that each district has as much to offer to the visitor as the next. On the other hand, the abstract tourist map mentioned above (Fig. 3.7.), depicts a non-evident assemblage of tourist objects despite its apparent simplicity. A first set of objects called 'City of Berlin' blatantly reduces the complexity of the city to a group of nine tourist attractions. Five of these form the subset 'Must-see for all visitors', which is assembled by means of a column of text to the right of the map. A second set of objects is defined by the left column of text under the title 'Directions to the Museums', which are not indicated on the map, but are spatially integrated by means of a set of addresses.

The central question, however, is whether there are particular forms of assembling tourist objects characteristic of destination Berlin. Del Casino Jr. and Hanna (2000), for example, argue that the *Stadtplan für Männer* of Bangkok's nightlife space constitutes a central way of mapping the city as a landscape of prostitution. In Berlin neither prostitution nor sex-oriented tourism are central tourist arrangements of the urban landscape[10]. Probably, the most salient and distinctive way of mapping Berlin in recent years has consisted of highlighting urban and architectural transformations – new buildings, building sites and planned buildings-, which assembled together participate in the 'always-becoming city' ordering of destination identity.

This was first noted by Karen Till (2003), for whom maps, models of the city and virtual-reality simulations have been central for communicating the visions of the future of planners, architects, city-boosters and, particularly, of the public-private partnership for city marketing. Her analyses concentrates on the marketing campaign *Schaustelle Berlin*, which between 1996 and 2008 offered tours to the main building sites and information about the

[10] There are some specific maps, such as 'Out in Berlin', producing objective arrangements and assemblages based on categories such as predominantly gay, predominantly lesbian, only for men, only for women, mixed, and darkroom but they are not truly representative of Destination Berlin.

large construction projects taking place in Berlin. Looking at the maps, brochures and tours of the *Schaustelle*, she argues that these representational practices "detach buildings, ruins, and sites from their dense, multiple historical urban contexts and relocate them as showcases, or objects of tourist fascination to be viewed in particular ways" (Till, 2003: 63). Representations, she argues, arrange these objects in a new spatial frame ("The New Berlin"), providing "a kind of 'reality effect' for these new mappings of the city" (Till, 2003: 63).

Till's analysis of maps of 'The New Berlin' suggests an important shift over the years. The first maps of 1996/7 were almost exclusively dedicated to the campaign *Schaustelle*, highlighting with bold colours the objects indicated in the map and distinguishing between the following categories: Information, Showcases, Construction Sites and Objects of Interest and Federal Ministry Buildings and Object of Interests. The map of 2000, she observes, was easier to read and of a more general nature, including transportation stops and names of streets. It highlighted buildings with rather pale colours not dramatically different from the colours of the background. She interprets such differences as oriented to communicate "to the reader/tourist that Berlin was undergoing rapid change but had "settled" by 2000" (Till, 2003: 66). Among the objects represented in these maps, Till distinguishes three major groups as constitutive of "The New Berlin": new government district buildings, new business centres and new transportation networks. Interestingly, she observes that other central tourist distinctions, such as the border between East and West Berlin, was represented "as a kind of reality that was not 'visible' in the material landscape of the new construction (and hence not mapped)" (Till, 2003: 69).

The tourist arrangement and assemblage of tourist objects produces thus a type of space that is not simply physical or symbolic, but which transforms the most basic spatial geometry of the destination. Till, for example, argues that the maps of 'The New Berlin' are based on a detachment of objects from their historical urban contexts and their relocation in a new framing. Certainly objects are isolated from their spatially surrounding contexts[11], but, as

[11] As Luhmann's distinction between objects and places (positions) suggests, objects constantly overflow the limits of the touristic space. Placing objects in touristic space and assembling sets of touristic elements do not exhaust the possibilities of creating or referring to other spaces. Löw (2001), for example, observes that even habitualized and institutionalized constructions of space rely on objects and places that at the same time allow the constitution of other spaces. All this may sound very obvious, but reveals a key property of objects: "objects are always enacted in a multi-topological manner" (Law 2002b: 98).

she notes, they are relocated in a new emergent space, which defines what is close and far, inside and outside. The new forms of attachment and the new assemblages produced by tourist maps are indeed based on the simultaneity of the tourist space, which, apart from making possible the definition of relations of contiguity between physically distant objects, enable the visualization of the tourist city as a whole.

4.5. Maps as Diagrams of Tourist Space

The kind of description and analysis of tourist maps presented previously undermines common understandings of maps as signs constituted in terms of a distinction between form of expression and form of content, significant and signified or, more accurate for this case, map and territory. This is certainly an analytical decision, not an empirical one, which is derived from the assessment of maps as spatial devices. From the perspective of the maps, rather than their users, these maps emerge as devices producing particular forms of destination visualicity and thereby enacting space. In this sense, this analysis seeks to unveil a dimension of maps that cannot be reduced to their roles as 'indexes' or as 'icons' of urban space. Certainly, tourist maps do function as 'indexes' representing a territory and, in this sense, are constantly used by tourists as route-finders. Similarly, tourist maps can also become 'icons' of destination space, particularly as they are taken home by tourists as souvenirs or mementos. Moreover, the objective of this analysis was also to overcome a description of tourist maps as 'symbols' inserted in regimes of tourist signification and self-referential chains of tourist meaning and identities. The problem with understanding of maps as indexes, icons, and symbols is that none of these concepts includes the generative and transformational pragmatics of space embodied by these maps. In other words, tourist maps are not *ex post* operations of tourism, indexical, iconic or symbolic representations of a tourist space, but generative operations.

A conceptual alternative to conclude these reflections on tourist maps can be found in the concepts of diagram and diagrammatic function proposed by Deleuze and Guattari. Such concepts are introduced by the French thinkers after their analysis and discussion of four main kinds of sign regimes (namely, pre-significant, significant, counter-significant, and post-significant) precisely to think about a virtual space constituted beyond these sign regimes, beyond the distinctive form of expression and of content, beyond map and territory. Diagrams are defined as generative devices that produce reality instead of referring to it. Deleuze and Guattari speak therefore of diagrams as an abstract machine, which "plays a piloting role. The

diagrammatic or abstract machine does not function to represent, even something real, but rather constructs a real that is yet to come, a new type of reality. Thus […] it does not stand outside history, but is instead always 'prior to' history" (1987: 142).

Such mention of history is a reference to the work of Foucault, from where the concept of diagram originates. Foucault (1997) introduces the concept when discussing Bentham's plans for the Panopticon, which he argues were the diagram of a power mechanism, whose functioning could be represented as an optical and architectonic system. In words of Deleuze, Foucault's diagram constitutes "a map, a cartography that is coextensive with the whole social field" (1988b: 34). Deleuze relativizes, however, this alleged uniqueness of the diagram for the whole social field, pointing out that Foucault refers to disciplinary societies. Otherwise, writes Deleuze, "there are as many [diagrams] as there are social fields in history" and each of them "produces a new kind of reality, a new model of truth" (1988b: 34-35).

I will not argue that tourist maps produce or articulate the whole social field of tourism. However, by borrowing this Foucauldian-Deleuzian concept, it is possible to highlight the non-semiotic function fulfilled by tourist maps. Understanding tourist maps as diagrams –in a modest, but literal way- sheds new light, first, on visualicity as a 'logical and connotative system' on the basis of which urban space and representations of it are formed. The concept of visualicity designates thus a very specific diagram, which rather than articulating the power relations of a whole social field as for Foucault, it articulates the relationships of a particular spatial formation. It resembles however a diagram, in that the basic principles of visualicity enacted in tourist maps are constitutive of destination space. Spatial distinctions and arrangements do literally produce the borders, neighbourhoods and objectual assemblages that they claim to represent. Tourist maps are certainly not prior to history, as Foucalt's Panopticon, but they are in this sense prior to the tourist geography of destinations.

Secondly, taking the concept of diagram seriously implies emphasizing the generative capacity of the spatial operations described above in terms of experiences, practices and performances of space. Dereck MacCormack has worked on the interface between diagrams and performance, focusing particularly on the fields of pragmatic potential opened up by diagrams. Following his suggestions, one might think that by constituting destination space, tourist maps bestow 'a kind of sociotemporal consistency' (McCormack, 2005) to the tourist

practices and performances they organize. Such generative function of tourist maps for practices and performances of space poses questions that go beyond the analysis presented above. The next chapter deals precisely with the experiences and performances of destination space.

5. Sightseeing in Berlin: Cruising Space, Timing and the Montage of Attractions

This chapter continues the analysis of destination space by looking at tourist performances of space and technologically-mediated modes of tourist vision. It supplements the previous understanding of destination space with a focus on movement and tourist mobility as key operations for the transformation of urban space into destination space. Its approach is based simultaneously on Serres' topology of prepositions and recent praxeological approaches to tourism (1). The central sections focus on modes of tourist mobility and vision enabled by sightseeing bus-tours and discuss three aspects of the process by which such spatial performances transform urban space into destination space. Firstly, bus-tours delineate, as they move, a unique geography of routes and stops, which is embedded in the infrastructures and traffic flows of the city (2). Secondly, guiding practices carried out by tour guides produce complex articulations of temporal, narrative and spatial sequences (3). Thirdly, tourist experiences enabled by sightseeing bus-tours involve 'cruise-ship-like' styles of navigating space and a mode of vision that can be equated with the montage of coming attractions characteristic of film-trailers (4). It concludes suggesting that destination space constitutes a virtual topology (5).

5.1. Topology of Prepositions and Performances of Tourist Space

In his book *Atlas*, Michel Serres considers space to be the result of a displacement, a crossing or, as he puts it, "the fights to death between *être la* [being there] and the *Horla* [out of there]" (Serres, 1995: 63, transl. IF). In this respect, Serres' philosophy of space and place distances itself from the Heideggerian (1993b) notion of dwelling as a constituent of space, place and humanity to stress a relational notion of space based on displacement. He finds this central tension in Mauppassaunt's narration entitled '*Horla'*.

> "*Hors* indicates what is exterior and distant, while *là* designates the near. The *Horla* describes a tension between what is adjacent, neighbouring and contiguous and what is far, reachable or unreachable, starting from this closeness" (Serres, 1995: 64, transl. IF). [i]

The difference between '*hors'* and '*là*,' he observes, is not given, but is the *result* of a movement, of a displacement, which also occurs in language. '*Hors'* comes from '*foris'* or '*fores'* which means the front door of a house. The word moves then by extension, from the

closest to the furthest. '*Foranus'* in Latin means foreigner in English. The French word '*farouche'* means unsociable or ferocious, while the forest designates an exterior wild space from where foreigners come. '*Forclos'* means excluded, '*forvoyé'* wayward, '*fourbu'* exhausted, '*forban'* outlaw. The preposition '*hors'* neither traces spatial distinctions, boundaries or areas nor produces spatial arrangements or assemblages of objects. The preposition designates rather a movement, a careful displacement from the interior to the exterior, a crossing that makes possible the enchainment of the places surrounding the house[1]. Serres proposes thus a topology based on prepositions, not on positions. Every preposition, he argues, describes and opens up the possibility of a relationship, of a movement, of a friction. There is no interior or exterior, but a tension in-between.

Serres complains about the primacy of only two prepositions in contemporary thinking: inside and under. Whilst 'inside' is at the basis of the modern separation between the interior (of substances, individuals, societies, etc.) and the exterior, 'under' governs the movements between the two. Thus, he argues, European metaphysics is based on a notion of absolute space *upon which* movement is possible. According to Latour (in Bingham and Thrift, 2000), for example, a geography founded on such a concept of absolute space is tyrannical and signals the triumph of the space of measure and transport, of Euclidean geography and cartography. Serres's alternative is to redefine topology as a knowledge of space based on relational prepositions, based on "the closed (*within*), the open (*out of*), intervals (*between*), orientation and directionality (*toward, in front of, behind*), proximity and adherence (*near, on, against, following, touching*), immersion (*among*), dimension… and so on, all realities outside of measurement but within relation" (Serres in Bingham and Thrift, 2000: 290).

Understandings of tourist space in terms of prepositions, movement and displacements have emerged only recently with the rise of praxeological and phenomenological perspectives (Selby, 2004b). One of the pioneers of such approach to tourism studies is the article 'Travel as Performed Art' written in 1989 by Judith Adler, who distinguished between travel performed "with a primary concern for the meanings discovered, created, and communicated as persons move through geographical space" (Adler, 1989: 1368) and other forms of travel

[1] It is precisely such a notion of space that makes Latour argue that "spaces and times are traced by reversible or irreversible displacements of many types of mobiles. They are generated by the movements of mobiles, they do not frame these movements" (cited in Bingham & Thrift 2000: 289)

for which movement is merely incidental. On that basis, tourist mobilities become 'worldmaking' performances of space and time.

Simon Coleman and Mike Crang (2002), two important advocates of placing tourist practices at the centre, argue that a performative approach to tourism studies helps to counteract the enormous weight of visual metaphors, particularly the metaphor of the gaze, which inappropriately suggests unidirectionality and inauthentic images masking the world. Tourist performances, on the contrary, involve creative uses and manipulations of images and local cultures. Moreover, tourist performances are not reducible to representational or discursive entities, but rather embodied, sensuous and corporeal practices that involve all human senses[2]. Apart from this, a performative turn involves understanding tourist spaces and places as achievements of tourist performances:

> "Too often, dramaturgical approaches suggest performance occurs in a place – reduced to a fixed, if ambient, container. We should instead see places from the perspective of a performance that takes them up and transforms them, redeploys them and connects them through metonymic relations, or what de Certeau called spatial stories" (2002: 10)

It is interesting to note that the description given by Coleman and Crang resembles point by point Van Gennep's (1960) classical description of the main phases of '*rites de passage*.' Tourist performances *separate* space from its physical correlate. Space is made to enter into the *liminal space* of tourism, where it is transformed into something different. This new tourist space is finally *reintegrated* and made available for tourists to gaze, experience and practice. Tourism becomes thus primarily a rite *of* place. It involves a transformation or, better, an event that mobilises spaces and places and reconfigures them in new constellations. Such transformations of space and place are only possible if it is admitted that tourist space cannot be thought of as external to tourist performances of space and, following Michel Serres, that positions are not prior to prepositions, but constituted through displacements.

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[2] The role of other senses and of the body has received particular attention within contemporary tourism studies. During the 1990's, John Urry emphasized the connections between the sight and other bodily senses (see Rojek and Urry 1997). He has insisted that "more senses than just vision are involved in the consumption of urban place" (Urry 1999: 71). Analysing tourist objects and material cultures not just as something to be gazed upon or to buy, but as an integral part of the tourist global flux has also been the order of the day (Lury 1997, Haldrup and Larsen 2004). It has also been proposed to understand the visual engagement of tourism, which can not be neglected, as a form of glancing, not gazing, in order to emphasize forms of interaction of tourist and hosts through exchanges of glances (Chaney 2002: 200).

It is important to note here that this emphasis on tourist performances concerns not just dynamics of travel and transportation to and from destinations, but also all dynamics of touring, exploring, visiting, strolling, wandering and dwelling at the destinations. In line with De Certeau's (1988) basic intuition that space and particularly urban space is produced *through* forms of urban mobility, some authors have understood tourist mobility as a "'performed art' with its own styles of relating to landscapes, sites and people encountered, perceived, made sense of and –in the end- enjoyed" (Haldrup, 2004: 435) and analyzed how different 'modes of movement' "prefigure how people sense and make sense of places and sites" (Haldrup, 2004: 451).

In line with this research, the main aim of this chapter is to investigate the tourist spaces enacted by one mode of tour mobility, namely, sightseeing bus-tours. Since the late 1990's sociological and geographical cultural studies have put major attention in car cultures and practices of driving in the city (Sheller and Urry, 2004; Thrift, 2004), as well as in tourist practices of driving and navigation (Haldrup, 2004; Larsen, 2001). However, the specific style of urban navigation enabled by sightseeing bus-tours, even though they depart in significant ways from other practices of driving, has largely been ignored.

5.2. Bus-tours' Mobility and Structured Improvisation

Dozens of bus-tours traverse Berlin on a daily basis, delineating with their movements the most basic contours of the tourist geography of the city. One basic feature of this geography is the agglomeration of bus-tour companies, ticket-sellers and boarding-points at the junction of Kurfürstenndamm and Tzaunzienstrasse Avenues, in the Zoologischer Garten district, the former centre of West Berlin. This is the official departure and arrival point of sightseeing bus-tours even though tour-buses can also be boarded at other locations. The clustering is a legacy of the spatial organization of tourism during the Cold War, especially after the construction of the Wall in 1961. During 1960's, in fact, bus tours in both halves of the city could not cross the Wall. In former East Berlin, the official bus tours organized by the *Reisebüro der DDR* were departing from the Berolinastrasse at the east side of Alexanderplatz (Hobusch, 1975). In former West Berlin, Zoologischer Garten was the central point for bus-tours mainly visiting the areas of Charlotenburg and Kreuzberg. During the 1920's, the situation was also very different. The bus-tour companies described by Franz Hessel (1997

[1929]) in his chronicals of Berlin's urban life were indeed departing from the corner of Unter den Linden and Friedrichstrasse, at the crossing of the two major avenues of Berlin's centre.

A look at the contemporary routes of three main sightseeing bus-tours companies (figure 4.1.) shows the contours of a clearly defined urban area, which is also structured by a neat network of paths. There is indeed little variation. The sequences in which certain sites are toured and the directions in which certain paths are traversed account for the main differences. A clearly structured and standardised tourist space then comes into view. Perhaps unexpectedly, small but significant variations can be noted when comparing the itineraries of any one specific company. This suggests that despite moving through a very structured space, bus-tours do not blindly follow pre-established routes, but enjoy a certain space for improvisation to deal with contingent situations, such as traffic jams. Interestingly, tactical spatial improvisation is necessary to keep bus-tours within the official geography of tourism and does not open up a space where that geography could be contested. Improvisation is rather a resource to keep up the pace and hold together the experience of touring Berlin. Indeed, even though spatial improvisation is actively put into practice by bus drivers and tour guides, it is seldom part of the tourist experience. It is an integral part of practices of driving and navigating through the city which are kept backstage during sightseeing bus-tour performances.

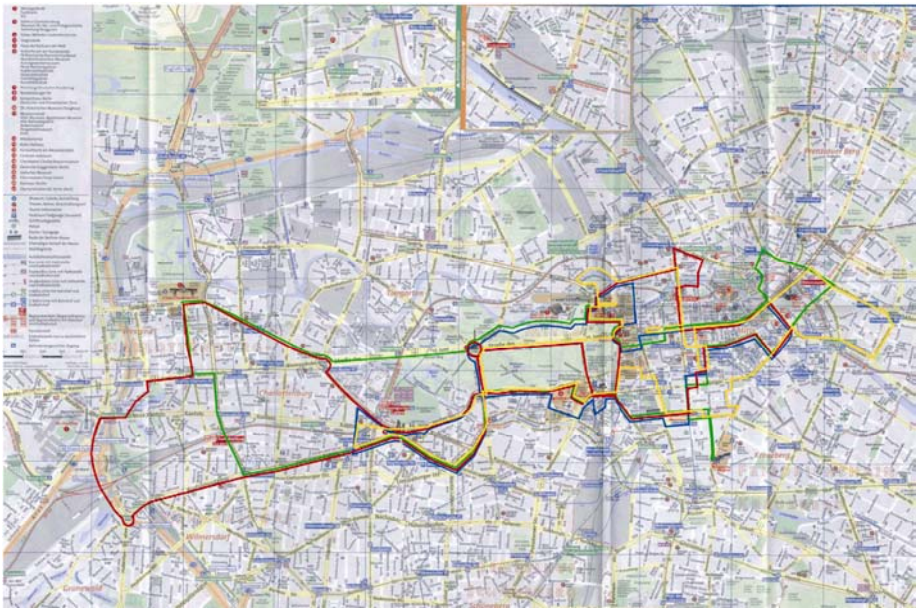

Figure 4.1: Official Routes of Four Sightseeing Bus Tours. Source: Author's creation.

The figure illustrates yet another basic feature of the tourist space enacted by bus-tours, namely, its double-centred structure. Indeed, the routes traversed by these buses are structured around the two former urban centres of Berlin, recreating thereby a geography of division, similar to that shown on tourist maps. Moreover, and again in consonance with some tourist maps, most routes are biased towards the West. Bus-tours do not go beyond Mitte's historical centre, omitting the neighbourhoods of Prenzlauer Berg and Friedrichshain in the East, whilst in a westerly direction, long incursions are made through the residential areas of Charlotenburg, reaching even very remote and isolated sites, such as the Messe Gelände or West Berlin's Television Tower.

The double-centred spatial structure is stressed by the use of the Tiergarten as a transitional zone between East and West Berlin. The Tiergarten introduces visual discontinuity into the urban landscape, marking also in spatial and visual terms, the division of the city. The geography of division is also reinforced with the narrative performances of tour guides. Indeed, every former border crossing is indicated, remarked and sometimes even performed. Also urban areas, tourist sites and attractions distant from the border are often contextualized as pertaining to either East or West Berlin.

> "The guide points to 'the old church in front of us' and explains that this is the Marienkirche, built in 1270 and one of the few remains of Medieval Berlin. Immediately she says that we are in the former centre of East Berlin and that in front of us we can see the TV Tower of Alexanderplatz. She asks everyone to just look at it. 365 meters high, she says. And after two or three seconds of silence she adds that, "back then people used to say that ,if it falls down, you could take the elevator to West Berlin'" (Fieldnotes, September 14, 2005)

In other cases buildings and attractions are presented not just as pertaining to East or West Berlin, but also as having a counterpart on 'the other side' of the city.

> "The guide points then to the "brown ship", the ICC Building of the International Congress Center, and then explains that it was built between 1973 and 1979 as a counterpart to the Palast der Republik." (Fieldnotes, September 15, 2005)

Such virtual oppositions between buildings and constructions in former East and West Berlin are possible and seem plausible given the (almost) simultaneous experience of the destination space enabled by sightseeing bus-tours. Indeed, such oppositions are rare to find in 'walking/tours'[3] and tourist guidebooks. Their presence in bus-tours indicates that bus-tours enact destination space in a way in which physical distance shrinks. Opposites become virtual tentioners tightening the double-centred tourist geography of Berlin.

[3] This particular notation is explained in Chapter 6.

Generally, there are two very different types of sightseeing bus-tours, which even though they share this basic geography, are correlated with two different modes or styles of tour mobility. On the one hand, there are at least four companies managing so-called 'bus-tours with live-commentary'. These buses depart between 5 and 8 times a day and the tour around the city lasts between 2 and 3 hours. On the other hand, there is the so-called 'city-circle bus-tour', a fleet of buses run by three associated companies that traverse the city on a 15 minutes basis. Instead of the live commentaries of a tour guide, these buses offer a recorded tour in multiple languages which can be heard using headphones. Tickets are sold for one complete day, allowing tourists to 'hop-on and hop-off' the bus as many times they want. Small differences between these two types of sightseeing buses, such as the number and function of stops, have an enormous impact on the way they enact destination space.

Indeed, despite making 18 hop-on hop-off stops, the city-circle bus functions as a closed system. Stops are not integral parts of the tour, but rather short interruptions during which the bus-tour is opened up for energy exchanges with its environment (some tourists hop off, others hop on). These are rather technical stops that do not include information exchanges with the environment. Bus-tours with live commentary, on the contrary, make three to five 10-minute 'photo-stops', which fulfil sightseeing purposes. They are framed as an opportunity to get off the bus, make a short visit to a special site and take photographs. However, tourists often decide to stay on the bus. As some explained to me, they take the bus to get an overview to enable them to decide where to go and what to visit. Even in such cases, these stops remain an integral part of the tour, as they facilitate a more embodied way of grasping the city.

> "About half of the passengers stay on the bus. The sun shines and through the speakers come the music and short reports of a local radio sender. From the bus it is possible to see the back part of the Reichstag, on the left hand side, the green fields of the Tiergarten, on the right hand side, the Brandenburg Gate. Most tourists lay back and close their eyes. Others eat a sandwich, look things up in their tourist maps and guidebooks, make plans and talk. No one seems to engage in sightseeing and certainly no one is taking any pictures of anything" (Fieldnotes, September 14, 2005).

It is clear that the differences between these two main types of sightseeing bus-tours are not to be underplayed. Given the centrality of guiding practices in 'bus-tours with live-commentary', the next sections focuses exclusively on this kind of buses to show how sightseeing practices organize and transform destination space.

5.3. Guiding Practices and the Art of Timing

Bus-tours' production of destination space is based on a key operation, namely, the reintroduction of the urban environment into the moving space of the bus-tour. While bus-tours move through space, enacting a geography of tourist flows, they also refer to elements of the urban environment, fixing destination space in sites and sights. In this manner, bus-tours shall be understood as highly specialized machines in the articulation of spatial flows with a spatial fix of a tourist destination. In this section, I explain how this complex and difficult task of reintroduction and articulation, which is mostly concealed from tourists, occurs.

It should first be noted that the types of objects mentioned and pointed to during a bus-tour are very heterogeneous. While material landmarks such as buildings, monuments or public art receive most mentions, it is noteworthy that also virtual entities, such as the city itself or districts, are also indicated and described as having identities, flairs or personalities. Other mobile objects, such as bikers, dogs, water pipes or the police, are also often indicated. The number of objects indicated on a bus-tour crucially defines guiding practices. Normally, sightseeing bus-tours with live-commentary indicate between 60 and 80 tourist objects during a two hours round trip. On one bus-tour I counted up to 95 sites, places, buildings, areas, virtual entities and mobile objects. On such bus-tours, tour guides and tourists have on average 75 seconds for locating the object pointed to, directing attention to it, communicating basic information, commenting on it, making a joke, and moving on to the next object. While the spatial structure of routes (and stops), described previously, constitutes a central mechanism of (urban) complexity reduction, these numerous and heterogeneous sets of tourist objects reintroduce a different kind of complexity into the bus-tour, tourist complexity which is necessary to make the bus-tour dynamic and effective.

Bus-tours work thus on the basis of delicate equilibriums, the first between flowing through space and fixing objects in place and the second, between reduction and creation of complexity. I am in debt for this understanding of bus-tours as something that has to be kept in equilibrium to Heiko, one of the guides I met whilst completing my fieldwork[4].

[4] When I met Heiko in 2005, he was around 30 years old, had been working as a tour guide for 4 years and was a member of the FDP [Free Democratic Party]. This defined the terms of our encounter. He was mainly interested in the economic-political importance of tourism for Berlin and wanted to know my findings in this area, while I

> "Just one week after arriving in Berlin he did his first tour. A friend of his had been working as a tour guide for a long time and got him the job. He remembers his first tours as complete disasters. Even though he had learned in less than a week everything he needed to know, dates, facts, everything, the tours simply didn't work. He compared leading tours with riding bikes, something that once you have learned you never forget; something that after two or three years without doing it, he could easily start again" (Fieldnotes, October 8, 2005).

The metaphor of biking is crucial, because it shows that movement is a condition for bus-tours and makes evident the need to maintain an equilibrium. It also stresses the importance of travelling at a constant speed; if you go too fast it can get risky; if you slow down you can fall off easily. Touring, just like biking, involves a mode of movement which rather than being consciously calculated or controlled, is embodied. Information, facts and dates are important, but not crucial. It is the rhythm that constitutes the tour, the rhythm in which flowing through space and indicating objects of the urban environment are connected with each other.

Whilst in my conversation with Heiko metaphors of balance and embodiment came up as an intuitive form of making sense of his daily practices, such metaphors become evaluative devices for others guides and particularly for those testing applicants for tour-guide jobs.

> "This is my first meeting with Susanne, the person responsible for the daily operations of the bus-tour company BCT. As I arrive I find out that she has no time for the coffee we talked about over the phone, because she has to evaluate an applicant. We agree that I can join her for the tour and then we go for a coffee, so I can explain my research project to her and ask whether I can carry out fieldwork on her buses. […] While I am waiting with my coffee for the tour to start, I meet the man applying for the job of guide. He is 45-50 years old and has been working as a guide since March 2005 for another bus-tour company that, he says, doesn't pay as well. When I ask if there are any differences in the tours, he explains to me that the route and the attractions are practically the same.
>
> The trial tour starts and he seems nervous. He sits in the front of the bus with a lot of notes which he reads in a rather monotone. He also looks flustered trying to match his notes with the route. A couple of times he looks his notes for too long, passing some attractions without saying much. When indicating the position of a tourist object, he constantly confuses right and left hand sides. Susanne, who sits next to me, becomes a bit impatient, pointing out to me most of the failures I have mentioned. Twice she raises her voice from the back of the bus to give him instructions. She also criticizes the lack of interactivity and liveliness in his tour, central elements for making tourists connect with the city. The major problem, she says, is that he lacks *timing*. At the end, he was not given the job" (Fieldnotes, September 14, 2005).

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was trying to find out how he considers his political background and opinions affect his work when elaborating tourist narrations of the city and to what extent he considered tours to be political.

Timing emerges in this story as a multi-layered concept that includes the most basic abilities that a bus-tour guide must have. Moreover, timing becomes a central criterion for distinguishing good and effective guiding practices from unsatisfying ones and for making good decisions. When I met Susanne later for a recorded interview and asked her about timing she answered: "I have already told you all this... When we met a year ago, I tried to show you how this functions […] I told you everything already" (Interview in May 11, 2006). As my fieldnotes show, Susanne *showed* me what timing is. This is important, as like 'biking', timing cannot be learned by following a clear set of rules. It is an embodied capacity that can only be learned through practice. Indeed, at the centre the idea of timing designates a general mode of articulating narratives, space and tourists or a way of articulating the spatial flow of the bus-tour with the spatial fix of the destination. This is certainly one important element, but timing is also about many other things that run parallel to this basic operation of connecting narratives to spaces. Timing is also about translating, indicating, grouping, driving and improvising.

Most bus-tours with live-commentary are in German and English. The structural linearity of language, the impossibility of saying different things simultaneously, should mean that perfect timing between what is said and what is seen cannot be achieved for both languages of the tour. Translation introduces thus the dilemma of keeping the right timing in German or in English. Apart from having to favour one language, this translation dilemma involves also deciding whether the castigated language will be anticipated or deferred.

> "The German language part of the tour was anticipating the attractions too soon. She was naming and indicating buildings and monuments that we could not see and when we were finally approaching them she had already said everything. The English version, however, matched what we were seeing very well" (Fieldnotes, September 16, 2005).

Timing, however, is not a question of mathematical precision. There is not just one solution for the problem of articulating narration and space; there is not just one right moment defining what the right timing is. Indeed, the example above, which at the beginning seemed to me an example of wrong timing, shows that there are alternative solutions to the dilemma of timing in translation. As I observed on this and many other tours, the English translation is not just noise for German-speaking tourists, but mostly understood and indeed actively heard. Thus, a solution for both languages is possible. English-speaking tourists get a right-on-time tour narrative, while for German-speaking tourists the most important information is anticipated first and then communicated again in English. No timing problems emerge then for German-

speaking tourists, who can also test their English and playfully grasp the way international tourists perceive Berlin (on touristic experiences of foreign languages, see Phipps, 2007). Another way of coping with this translation dilemma involves speedily switching between German and English. Thus, when pointing to a building and directing tourists' gazes, guides would be switching languages very fast to ensure that everyone has seen a particular tourist object. Having done that, guides switch more slowly between languages when giving information and telling stories about the attraction.

This latter solution draws attention to a second crucial aspect, namely, switching between giving directions and giving information, between locating and narrating. Indeed, a central aspect of timing concerns the spatial directions given to facilitate the identification of tourist objects. This includes the indication of the position of attractions relative to the bus, pointing to easily recognisable physical characteristics and, sometimes, confirming that all tourists have the capability to locate the tourist object under discussion.

> "When we stop at the traffic-light I will ask you to look carefully to the right hand side, where you will see a double line of plaster-stones. These mark the former line of the Wall… Here at the right hand side… Can you see it? The Wall stood there once. Now we are in the former Eastern side of the city."[ii] (14. Sept. 2005, SRF)

However, since the bus is moving, defining the position of objects is not a simple task, varying for example in German (in front of us to the right) and in English (now on the right hand side). The alternative confronted here is whether guides synchronise directions or narration with the tourist object, which will usually depend on how much information they are giving. This problem becomes particularly salient in winter, when double-deckers drive with their rooves closed, preventing tour guides to taking advantage of the long visual perspectives to give spatial directions.

The example concerning the Wall mentioned above suggests also that timing is about being able to order the tour into different subsequent phases, so that tourists can grasp more easily the basic spatial distinctions and structures that make up the destination. Ordering the tour into phases involves being able to generate associations between large sets of tourist objects and to clearly indicate when one phase or set of objects starts and finishes. One of the most common performances is highlighting the moments when the bus crosses boundaries, such as the line of plaster stones which signals the otherwise invisible line of the Wall. The crossing of such boundaries also involves a "sudden or extraordinary change in the traversing body of object […] A small movement in space, across the borderline or boundary, is

associated with a change much greater than would otherwise be expected from such a minimal movement. A minimum effort results in a maximum of distinction" (Shields, 2006: 229).

Timing is also about coordination between tour guides and bus drivers regarding driving speeds and routes. Many tour guides pointed out the importance of knowing drivers' different styles of driving. Tour guides also communicate directly or indirectly with drivers about driving speeds, suggesting where to stop or when to start again. In order to facilitate such communication some guides introduce the bus driver to the public, usually with an imaginary name ("Our driver today is Micky") and make his or her driving style into an attraction ("one of the craziest drivers in town"). Drivers, on the other hand, explain that driving tour-buses is very different from driving normal buses, since they have to be extremely attentive to what is being said by the guide and drive according to the guide's style. Small detours depending on the traffic are also decided on by the driver. Such detours, even when not sanctioned by the guide, require the driver to know which alternative streets are suitable for the tour to go down. One driver said to me that he was responsible for 50% of the tour. The habitual practice of dividing tourists' tips in equal parts between tour-guide and bus-driver seems to confirm this.

Driving faster or slower is a central way of dealing with the absence and presence of tourist objects in the urban landscape, but speeding up to reach the next tourist object is not always possible given traffic issues such as red lights or traffic jams. Consequently, the capacity to smoothly fill the unavoidable 'blank spaces' is another important aspect of timing. One of these blank spaces is located in the first part of most tours. Between Wittenbergplatz and Lutzowplatz there is a 3 to 5 minutes stretch that has only two minor attractions and a long red light. Most tour guides are prepared for this blank space and use the time to welcome tourists to Berlin, give general information about the city (e.g. population or topography), and some practical instructions about the tour (e.g. not standing up until the bus is parked). Much more challenging are unexpected situations, which guides can only sort out if they are capable of coping with time voids and blank spaces without breaking the rhythm or interrupting the tour flow. Timing means in this context improvisation, the ability to openly and fluidly deal with unexpected situations without losing balance.

Traffic jams are certainly one of the most complicated situations, because they radically interrupt the tour rhythm, showing how embedded the bus is in the transport flows of the city and obligating tourists to gaze upon buildings and sites for too long, disenchanting them. One of the most extreme traffic jams situations I witnessed during my fieldwork (17 minutes without moving) shows very clearly the huge performative and narrative investments that tour guides have to make, in order to keep the tour frame together:

> "We had just passed the Belleveu Palace and were approaching Victory Column [one of Berlin's most famous symbols in the centre of Tiergarten Park]. As we reached the corner we saw that the street was blocked by police and we cannot move. After a few seconds of silence, during which time our guide rapidly checked how bad the situation was, she started to improvise. She pointed to a helicopter passing above to explain what was going on. 'Up there… Our security!' she joked. 'This is NATO security. You can hear the noise of the helicopter. All the Defense Ministers are meeting at the Hotel Intercontinental'.
>
> Then she started the first of many free-association threads that filled the next 17 minutes: 'Normally not that much surveillance → But sometimes our bus appears on TV → In Berlin there are many TV productions'. She started talking about the Tiergarten: its different uses in history, its contemporary function. She recommended a coffee bar in the park and described the feeling of being there. Three minutes had passed.
>
> After 4 seconds silence, she pointed to some bikers who were passing by and explained that many Berliners ride bikes and gave out a piece of information that otherwise wouldn't probably have come up, namely, that in Berlin there are about 700 bicycle ways. She talked then about biking along the former course of the Wall and about how long the Wall was.
>
> A group of black Mercedes Benz cars, escorted by police motorcycles and cars, on the other side of the street approached from the opposite direction. Looking at her, I pointed to these cars, somehow suggesting she could following up this line. She did not let the opportunity go and exclaimed: 'Yes! Look on the left hand side… Who is sitting there?' After estimating the importance of the person according to the size of the police escort, she explained that when it really is security level 1A – when Bush comes, for example –bus-tours cannot circulate. After saying this, she rapidly moved on to the next one: 'Now we have something quite different. To the left a dog! We are in the city of dogs'" (Fieldnotes, September 14, 2005).

This form of improvisation based on threads of free association triggered by all kinds of mobile and ordinary objects in the urban surroundings is central to overcoming the blank spaces produced by traffic jams. However, after the first 5 to 10 minutes the situation starts to become more and more delicate:

> "After ten minutes some car-drivers started to honk. Laughing, she said to the driver: 'You too. Do it!' She then told the audience why it is usual to hear cars honking in Kurfürstemmdamm: a new wedding tradition of the Turkish "Mitbewohnern" (cohabitants). Later on, when cars started to honk again the association was different: 'Italian visitors say that this is almost like Rome'.

> Any element can provide a good starting point for such improvised narratives: 'The phrase of the day. On the right hand side the taxi-driver said that this would have never happened if the government would have stayed in Bonn'. She started to give information about Berlin as the most visited German city, the third most visited city in Europe and commented on how important tourism is for the city" (Fieldnotes, September 14, 2005).

In this manner, the tension produced by the traffic jam is integrated into the tour, being a source of elements for describing the city, its conflicts and tensions. After 15 minutes, however, the situation seems to have reached a limit.

> "There were longer silences. I counted 4 silences of 15 to 30 seconds, during which she looked puzzled or spoke privately to the driver about alternative solutions. Some tourists engaged actively in looking for alternatives to get out of the traffic jam. Silence was only interrupted by some jokes about the situation ("Let's go over the sidewalk. Yes. This is an adventure tour") and expressions of incomprehension ("How come at the other side of the street it is possible to move?").
>
> When the situation started to become critical, i.e. just a few moments after a young couple decided to get off the bus, the traffic light turned green and the bus started to move. She celebrated and thanked the public, 'Thanks! It's great to show you Berlin, you are so patient'" (Fieldnotes, September 14, 2005).

This last comment is revealing of the central role played by the tourists in the maintenance of the tour frame, something I address in more detail in my analysis of tour frames (see Ch. 6).

All these complex arrangements and delicate balances sustaining bus-tours uncover central aspects of the relationship between tour mobilities and destination space. Indeed while routes and paths rely on controlled variation and structured improvisation, guiding practices are based on the all-encompassing embodied ability that one of my informants called timing. As I have shown, timing is a form of controlled improvisation that involves not only the articulation of narratives and sights, but the ability to do this while at the same time talking in two languages, directing the tourists' looks with hands and words, grouping sights and introducing boundaries, coordinating driving styles with the driver, dealing with blank spaces and sorting out critical unexpected situations such as big traffic jams. Timing does not lead either to contestation of tourist geographies as demonstrated also by the structured improvisation described above. Timing is based more on embodied spatial knowledge than on experimentation and is thus about restoring the equilibrium and less about contesting and destabilizing orders.

5.4. Bus-Tours Experiences of Movement and Vision

Touring Berlin on a bus-tour is one of the few activities when tourists are directly confronted by the destination space as a whole. As I have shown above, bus-tours enact a mode of tourist mobility that is focused on the presentation, visualization and experience of the city, not on the transportation of people from one point to another. Touring the city with a bus-tour involves a movement that brings together physically independent and even distant sites and enables a continuous experience of destination space. Thus, bus-tours' performances enact a transformation of urban space into the relational space of the destination. This last section looks at the experiences of movement and vision enabled and mediated by bus-tours.

5.4.1. Cruise-ship navigational styles

The mode of movement performed by bus-tours reflects some general features discussed in the literature on navigation. Bus-tours exhibit an inversion of experiences of mobility and immobility similar to other means of transport such as cars, trains or ships. In the case of railway navigation, De Certeau famously argues that:

> "[b]etween the immobility of the inside and that of the outside a certain *quid pro quo* is introduced, a slender blade that inverts their stability. The chiasm is produced by the windowpane and the rail […] The windowpane is what allows us to *see*, and the rail, what allows us to *move through* […] The windowpane and the iron (rail) divide, on the one hand, the traveller's (the putative's narrator's) interiority and, on the other, the power of being, constituted as an object without discourse, the strength of an exterior silence" (de Certeau, 1988: 112).

Following the view of De Certeau, the experience of navigation is inscribed in the machine, in the rails and in the windows, i.e. in the materialities that produce the partition between an immobile inside and an immobile outside. Correspondingly, the kind of travel experience enabled by the train is one of incarceration. The traveller is immobilized in a rationalized cell, while the things passed by are fixed in the landscape. It is important to note that such a vision of the passenger as detached from and dominated by the transport technology assumes the existence of a clear-cut distinction between traveller and transport technology.

Bus-tours require a more relational understanding of the navigational experience as an emergent effect of a socio-technical network of elements. Immobile in their seats, tourists move *with* the bus, which becomes a mechanical extension (or a sort of cyborgian prosthesis) for their own touring practices. Such an approach allows an understanding of why the touring experience is not one of incarceration, even though sightseeing bus-tours work with a similar tension between the double-decker's roof (inside) and the urban environment (outside).

The idea of navigation might also prove confusing, for it suggests that bus-tours are a means for 'getting-there' and that tourists can direct in one way or the other the movement they are involved in. Indeed, the metaphor of navigation has been appropriately employed by Michael Haldrup (2004) to describe the mode of tourist mobility enacted by families during car sightseeing excursions and trips around second-home residences. In these cases,

> "[…] the trip derives its meaning through the 'collection' of particular places passed *en route*, in the form of souvenirs, photographs and vistas. Sites are appropriated through a 'spectatorial gaze' (Urry 2002: 150) and often the trips are thematized (e.g. 'beaches', 'birds', 'collection of mussels' and 'handicrafts', etc.). Hence, they require serious planning and calculation of time. Navigating is a serious enterprise involving the collection, exploration and documentation of the places passed through" (Haldrup, 2004: 447)

Such experiences of navigation depart from the experience of space in bus-tours in three crucial ways. Firstly, the experiences enabled by the bus-tour do not involve any planning nor do they qualify as systematic and calculated enterprises. As shown above, planning, calculations and structured improvisation are tasks taken over by the staff, guide and driver, and not by the tourist. Secondly, navigational practices are based on a temporal separation between space and place and more precisely between navigating space in order to reach a point of arrival and gazing upon a particular sight. A similar separation might be found on 'walking/tours' (see Ch. 6), but not on bus-tours, which despite some sightseeing stops, consist of a sightseeing flow. Indeed, rather than navigating space to reach somewhere else, it is the very experience of navigation that is at the core of their experience of urban space. Thirdly, navigating space with the bus-tour involves an experience liberated from any preoccupations about finding one's way or being on time.

Bus-tours perform a very particular form of navigation, which I shall describe using the image of a cruise-ship. Indeed, the experience of space enabled by bus-tours relies, firstly, upon cruise-speed. Interestingly, there is no one unique cruise-speed or a fixed range of speed defining what cruise-speed is. Cruise-speed depends on the roads, the traffic and landscapes being passed by, as well as on the objective and sense attributed to the trip. Cruise-speed designates a constant and relaxed mode of movement. In this sense, cruise-speed can be understood as a 'qualculative' measure (Callon and Law, 2005), i.e. the result of a process of calculation dealing with qualities rather than with quantities. Cruise speed also involves a decrease in navigational tasks, enabling a form of laid-back mobility oriented to a relaxed and detached way of viewing the landscape.

The metaphor of cruising along tourist shores helps also to describe the predominant social organization of experience and vision on these buses. Indeed, a distinctive feature of cruise-ships is that in addition to the regular crew, they also have hospitality staff responsible for tourist experiences. On bus-tours, the guide plays the role of the staff responsible for tourist experiences, providing them with adequate narratives, indicating what and how to look at which moment, entertaining the passengers with jokes and anecdotes. Apart from this, the cruise ship metaphor gives important clues about how bus-tours move through and appropriate the city. Indeed, rather than transportation or route-finding, bus-tours promote alternative uses of the urban transport infrastructure, cruising along and enabling experiences of moving and contemplating the city.

Such urban rhythm is so specific that in some instances and at some places it becomes a 'bad practice' of the transport infrastructure. Sometimes the tour-bus moves too slowly, decelerating in the middle of a street, obligating cars to overtake or causing small traffic jams. Sometime it moves too fast, accelerating when approaching a corner, sometimes even passing through a yellow-red light, and then stopping at a green light. The streets navigated by cruise-ships with tourists sitting on its deck are turned into 'tourist shores' by this kind of movement. The bus-tour cruises along these shores, as close as its structural detachment makes possible and as slow as the urban traffic flows permits, but irremediably moving, passing by and leaving behind the magnificent sights of these 'tourist shores'.

5.4.2. Film-trailer Spectatorship

The visual experience of the city enabled by bus-tours is also very particular and cannot be equated with photography or cinema, two modes of vision that for many researchers constitute the central paradigms informing tourism and travel.

The mode of vision and representational practices associated with photography have become the main model for descriptions and analyses of tourist practices and vision, at least since John Urry's remark that "travel is a strategy for the accumulation of photographs" (1990: 139). The literature in this respect is wide and varied, ranging from large historical accounts of the inter-relationships between photography and tourism (Larsen, 2004; Urry and Crawshaw, 1997) to concrete situated ethnographic analyses of photographic practices of particular tourist groups (Edensor, 1998; Larsen, 2005). A large array of topics have been covered such as the connection between photography and memory, between professional

photography and tourism marketing, the broad appeal of snapshot photography and the new practices enabled by digital cameras. Behind this manifold literature is the common thesis that tourism experiences, practices and representations of space are dominated by the visual; a thesis that certainly matches the experience enabled by a sightseeing bus-tour.

The metaphor of the photographic eye stresses, however, a static position of the photographer and the photographed, subject and object, and so is inadequate to grasp the visual experiences enabled by bus-tours. The photographic eye takes indeed a powerful position, which is absent on bus-tours even though their mode of vision is based on a detachment that is somewhat equivalent to the photographic detachment. The primacy of a cruise-ship-like mode of movement interestingly, does not just contradict such photographic mode of vision in theory, but it can also be empirically observed that tourists on sightseeing bus-tours only occasionally take photographs. Even those tourists who get on the buses with their cameras in hand, do not take many pictures. This is in part because it is difficult to take sharp, composed pictures with the bus constantly moving, and also because the mode of vision subjugated by the bus is based much more on a continuous visual experience.

Jonas Larsen (2001) has suggested that trains, cars and bus-tours be viewed as hybrid vision machines not dominated by humans, but constituted alongside them. This mode of vision enabled by buses would correspond then to technologically mediated travel glances, which differ from the tourist photographic gaze in that they involve the movement *of* the frame. The travel glance enabled by navigational experiences "resembles a (proto)cinematic sensation of mobile landscape images, rather than, as with the tourist gaze, a photographic or picturesque one of a *still* image" (Larsen, 2001: 92). From this perspective, the (train) passenger and the cinema spectator emerge as analogous figures, immobile bodies confronted with images in perpetual motion. Instead of freezing moments for eternity, the film aesthetic is based transient movement, fleeting images and shocking velocity. Larsen, argues that this is why camcorders are so popular with tourists on sightseeing bus-tours:

> "[…] video-tourists tend to spend much more time on "doing" filming throughout the tour, and they are not only interested in the major attractions. Rather, they are engaged with experiencing and filming the paradigmatic modern experience of touristic mobility and glancing itself" (Larsen, 2001: 93).

Larsen's argument stresses some important points and could be used for sightseeing bus-tours' mode of vision, if it wasn't for the fact that the only empirical indicator he suggests

–the popularity of camcorders- could not be verified on the bus-tours I took for my research. Filming was not very common, perhaps because the mode of movement of a bus-tour does not exactly corresponds to navigation, but rather to a specific form of cruise-ship-like movement. My participant observation suggested that the distinction between travel-cinematic glances and tourist-photographic gaze does not fully apply, for sightseeing bus-tours involve both the mobility of the frame *and* a place for a master vision. Indeed, open-roof double-deckers literally elevate tourists to a master position and enable a detached and penetrating gaze upon the city, which, at the same time, is subjugated to constant movement and fluidity and allows only brief and fluid glances. Given these ambiguities, making sense of the mode of vision enabled by the sightseeing bus-tours in terms of a cinematic aesthetic requires complementing and specifying Larsen's argument in two crucial directions. I describe, firstly, the principles or rules that organize the perpetual movement of images on bus-tours as a 'montage of attractions', and secondly, I suggest that bus-tours' mode of vision resemble the cinematic hybrid genre of 'film-trailers'.

Cinematic montage or film editing consists of the connection of different moving images to form a sequence and the connection of different sequences to form a film. Many film theorists see in montage or editing that which distinguishes cinema as a particular art form from photography or theatre. The most common way of 'cutting' a film –characteristic of Hollywood's films, for example- aims to conceal the intervening hand of the editor, so that shots and sequences follow on naturally one from another. As I have shown above, bus-tour's guiding practices seek precisely to smoothly articulate the transition from one sight to the next, in such a way that the cuts are naturalized and continuity is ensured. Guiding practices should not draw attention to themselves or strive to impress. They should maintain the 'suspension of disbelief' and give the tourist the experience of enchantment, just like film editing practices.

Apart from this, one of the central functions of cinematic montage is to turn strings of images into a coherent story, the editing being essential to the film's overarching unity. On bus-tours, however, montage techniques have a different function. While they provide a certain coherence to the different sequences of images, coherence is restricted to particular sequences and is not functional to the creation of a meta-narrative[5]. Bus-tours certainly have

[5] An interesting exception to this is the so-called Videobustour analyzed in Chapter 7.

an overall thematic and objective –sightseeing the main attractions of a city-, but they lack of a meta-narrative that could render the different sequences of images into episodes contributing to the dramatic development of a major story. The kind of montage predominant in bus-tours resembles thus more experimental cinematic montage styles.

One model to reflect on is the Soviet Montage Theory developed in the 1920's by Sergei Eisenstein, for whom the overarching meaning of a film should emerge out of the dialectical tensions between shots and sequences. This theory downplayed the role of spatio-temporal continuities, characteristic of the classical Hollywood montage system, and favoured collisions of shots and conflicts of scale, volume, rhythm and motion. Eisenstein describes his method as a 'montage of attractions' (Eisenstein, 1997 [1924]). Correspondingly, the notion of a 'cinema of attractions' has been used in film studies to describe "less […] a way of telling stories than […] a way of presenting a series of views to an audience" (Gunning cited in Kernan, 2004: 7). The visual experiences enabled by bus-tours do resemble in many respects such a 'montage of attractions', even though soviet films inspired by Eisenstein did strive for a dialectical synthesis or filmic unity to develop out of the film's internal contradictions. This is not the case for sightseeing bus-tours and therefore this comparison has only limited value.

Considering the relative absence of meta-narratives ordering the visual experience and the non-continuous perception of space, I argue that bus-tours' mode of vision can be interpreted in terms of the visual aesthetic and language of film-trailers, a distinctive cinematic form different from filmic structures. Trailers constitute film 'paratexts' (cfr. Hediger, 2001; Kernan, 2004) as they create something new out of films. By quoting shots and sequences, they reframe fictional narratives into a hybrid cinematic form based on persuasive communication in the disguise of narrative coherence. Lisa Kernan argues that the main trait of trailers is indeed 'discontinous continuity', which is a product of the "alternation, combination and abbreviation of scenes to construct a new *trailer* logic, differing from (yet, obviously, related to) the narrative logic of the film" (Kernan, 2004: 10). Arguing that trailers have their own narrative structure means that they can imply plot developments that are false, suggest conversations that do not happen or even suggest a different genre. Much of this, indeed, can also be said of bus-tours and its narratives. They can provide naïve descriptions of the inhabitants and urban cultures that overtly contradict anthropological studies, highlight

historical periods and subjects without historical accuracy, explain processes of urban resurgence and decay in sociologically simplistic terms.

Kernan's principle of 'discontinuous continuity' applies not only to the narrative logic, but also to the mode of vision enacted on sightseeing bus-tours. In the case of trailers, visual discontinuity implies the visual alternation between different images and also the co-existence of different modes of vision. As previously mentioned, bus-tours are oriented to the visual collection of places. Collecting places implies cutting up urban space into collectable pieces and alternating between them. Despite this, the collection resembles more a fluid overview and less a photographic album, given the constant movement of the bus. Therefore, bus-tours' mode of vision blurs the distinction between tourist gaze and travel glance. As in film-trailers, visual 'discontinous continuity' means here the simultaneous existence of photographic and cinematic modes of vision on bus-tours.

Another central feature of film-trailers, mentioned above but not yet discussed, is their framing as persuasive communication. Indeed, trailers are hybrid genres mixing a unique cinematic language with promotional and commercial ends, explicitly addressing audiences as film shoppers, while at the same time seducing them with a unique cinematic language. Film-trailers rely therefore on the meta-communication of their own commercial frame. They need to meta-communicate that they are advertisements, that they are not the film, that they are incomplete. They can only fulfil in this way their function, namely, to awaken a spectator's desire for the full story (Hediger, 2001).

The relationship of sightseeing bus-tours with the destination is also worked out by means of meta-communicative dynamics which, however, differ significantly from trailers' relationships to films. On the one hand, the spatio-temporal frame of the bus-tour is claimed to provide privileged access to the destination. Thus, at a meta-communicative level, bus-tours must suggest that taking the tour equals doing the destination. On the other hand, in order to awaken tourists' curiosity and desire, bus-tours cannot claim to have definitively consumed the destination. Bus-tours do this in different ways. They present themselves as overviews and guides to enter the destination, recommending restaurants, bars, museums, and describing possible tourist practices and activities. Just like film-trailers (Hediger, 2001), bus-tours create thereby cognitive and experiential gaps, which they also clearly indicate how to fill.

Another aspect connecting film-trailers and bus-tours refers to their temporalities. Both trailers and buses simultaneously enact two temporal modes: the first is based on the act of display of parts of the film or the destination and the second one is based on the announcement of a film or a destination that is not fully present in the trailer or on the bus. However, it is important to note that having seen the trailer spectators usually have to wait a long time to actually see the film. There is almost no temporal deferral between bus-tour and destination experiences, for once tourists get off the bus they are directly confronted by the destination. While the inevitable temporal deferral of trailers produces what Vinzenz Hediger calls a "nostalgia of coming attractions" (2001: 225), bus-tours produce a sensation of 'immediacy of coming attractions' which acts as a major incentive to first get on the bus and then get off and explore the destination.

5.5. Destination Space as a Virtual Topology

To conclude I highlight the rather unusual approach to the analysis of destination space developed in this chapter and in the previous one. The analyses of the distinct ways that tourist maps and sightseeing bus-tours are involved in the production of destination space are based on the notion of a virtual topology that cannot be reduced to physical space or over-interpreted as a symbolic geography. In this sense, the overall aim of these chapters has been to develop a conceptualization and to deliver empirical analyses of the virtual space of the destination Berlin that are compatible with the notion of destinations as virtual objects of tourist communication.

I shall briefly elaborate on three issues which go across the analyses of tourist maps and bus-tours presented above: firstly, the intertwinement of destination 'visualicity' and 'mobility' (two modes of construction of space that given their separation in two chapters might erroneously be thought to be independent of each other), secondly, the virtual status of the spaces enacted by tourist maps and bus-tours, and finally, and more generally, the question about the urban dis/embeddedness of destination space.

A rapid look back at these chapters might suggest that while tourist maps, panoramic views and spatial diagrams visualize the invisible principles of destination space, bus-tour 'mobilities' were responsible for the relational linkage of spaces and places. It does certainly make sense to study tourist 'visualicity' and 'mobilities' by looking at different empirical

materials. It must be stressed however, that at a phenomenological level both non-representational modes of coping with destination space cannot be fully separated. While the basic operations performed by tourist maps are tracing distinctions and placing objects, they presuppose particular forms of mobility. Indeed, it is often the case that tourist maps suggest paths for sightseeing or strolling through the city. Similarly, the spatial experiences enabled by bus-tour 'mobilities' involve the enactment of a mode of vision over the complete topology of the destination that is based on the same basic principles that inform tourist maps. The art of timing described above is largely about tracing spatial distinctions and placing objects. Tourist maps and bus-tours or, more fundamentally, 'visualicity' and 'mobility' thus constitute two intertwined modes of enacting destination space, complementing and supplementing each other.

The complementary character of tourist 'visualicity' and 'mobility' is the expression of a certain stability achieved by destination space as a result of its emergence as a virtual topology. The emphasis throughout on the virtual nature of destination space entailed a focus on specific spatial operations, such as tracing distinctions, placing objects, coordinating spatial, visual and narrative flows. As a result, tourist maps were described as abstract machines enacting a non-representational diagrammatic space, certainly incomprehensible in terms of the distinction map/territory. Similarly, sightseeing bus-tours were understood as hybrid vision machines that using their cruise-ship-like navigational style and film-trailer-like mode of vision enact a tourist space characterized by the 'discontinuous continuity' of attractions and narration. Maps and buses are certainly not the only co-producers of such tourist virtual topology. Indeed, it would be possible to undertake similar analyses and come to similar results by looking at other tourist visualization devices, such as GPS-based electronic guidebooks, or at other tourist 'mobilities', such as walking-tours, wandering and strolling.. In any case, the main thesis is that forms of tourist 'visualicity' and 'mobility' simultaneously partake of the enactment of a destination space, which is virtual in the sense that is real, even when not actualized in stone, and ideal, even when not a mere abstraction of tourists' practices (cfr. Shields, 2003).

A final central issue, which leads on to the discussion addressed in the next two chapters, refers to the dis/embeddedness of such virtual topology in urban space. Indeed, looking at both tourist maps and bus-tours, it becomes evident that the enactment of a tourist virtual topology does not emerge by opposition to the physical constraints of urban space, but

rather on the basis of it. The three-step analysis of bus-tour 'mobilities', for example, delineates a process of transformation from movement within the urban grid to emergence of tourist modes of movement and vision. Bus-tours' mode of movement is determined by traffic flows, regulations and, a particular urban rhythm of their driving practices, interacting with other daily rhythms of the city. At the same time, bus-tours elaborate a virtual topology that radically differs from the daily time-space dynamics of the city, and is in opposition to the everyday. Destination space emerges thus as simultaneously embedded and disembedded in urban space. To finish I would argue that this dis/embeddedness of the virtual topology of tourism in the urban space expresses complex processes of disentanglement and entanglement and of framing and overflowing that articulate the relationships of tourism with the everyday, relationships that are at the centre of the next two chapters.

6. Tourism and the Multiple City II: Framing and Overflowing Dynamics of Tourist Situations

Cities constitute particularly complex contexts within which tourist communication occurs. In the last three chapters I have analysed in detail the way tourist communication performs destination identity and space. But cities are not just virtual objects of tourism. They also constitute noisy and multiple settings within which tourist communication needs to be situated, maintained and differentiated. This chapter offers an original analysis of the situational conditions in which tourist communication is reproduced and proposes using Erving Goffman's *Frame Analysis* (1974) as new departure point. Thereby it seeks to problematize the common assumption that tourism embraces all situations and activities that occur while travelling for leisure away from home. Rather than a condition or state of being, tourism is understood here to be an improbable event depending on situational boundaries and a fragile and fluid frame. This requires the adoption of a radically different position from that expressed in the literature on tourism studies, which is characterised by manifold attempts to define the nature of tourism on the basis of the distinctions home/away and everyday/extraordinary.

In the first section of this chapter I revise three major concepts of tourism and show that each of them is based on rather simplistic notions of everyday life and that together supply a rather messy account of the relationships between tourism and everyday life (1). In the second section I reassess the relationship of tourism with everyday life on the basis of a closer reading of Lefebvre's and De Certeau's notions of the everyday as a 'level of social activity' and as an 'overflowing of banality'. I argue that tourist practices are particularly difficult to isolate given their constant entanglements with other types of practices and experiences, as also contemporary anthropological analyses suggest for the case of consumption practices (2). This understanding of the everyday as providing a level for overflows and entanglements requires a new vocabulary for the study of tourism as special and separate form of social activity, which I start to unfold by following the principles of frame analysis established by Goffman. This requires however, embracing Michel Callon's suggestion that overflows are a constituent element of framing processes (3).

6.1. Tourism and Everyday life: a Messy Account

The centrality of notions of routine activity, everyday life and the ordinary in theories of tourism is a consequence of their extreme heuristic flexibility to illuminate very different aspects of tourist activity. Indeed, a brief look at the classical and contemporary literature on tourism shows that notions of everyday life are constantly invoked, not just to explain people's need to leave home or the elaboration of new objects of tourists' desire, but also to describe the experience of being a tourist. One of the major problems of the three accounts under consideration is that they mostly rely on common-sensical or formalistic notions of the everyday. In this manner, the everyday has become a heuristic device that, as it has permeated tourism studies throughout it has lost conceptual clarity.

6.1.1. Tourism and Routine Everyday Life

One fundamental distinction underlying most theoretical interpretations of tourism is that the latter is the opposite of quotidian activity, the ordinary and everyday life. Thus, the experience of being away from home is seen as a constituent of a bounded field of social activity "*at a distance* from a non-tourist life world" (Franklin, 2004: 281). This approach provides only a negative designation for tourism: "it is *not* home, it is *not* work; it is a change of scenery and lifestyle, an inversion of the normal" (O'Reilly, 2003: 305). Indeed, since this definition leaves open the question as to what tourism is positively about, it has been used by quite different approaches ranging from critical lectures seeing tourism as escapism (Boorstin, 1987; Enzensberger, 1996), structuralist interpretations of tourism as explorative behaviour and symbolic re-creation (Graburn, 1995; MacCannell, 1999) to post-modernist accounts on play and pleasure (Cohen, 1979; Feifer, 1985; Urry, 1990).

The first of these theses was postulated in a short piece by Hans Magnus Enzensberger (1996), a famous German intellectual and essayist, who made one of the first serious attempts to understand the nature and historical specificity of tourism. Unlike his contemporaries who criticized and dismissed tourism for being a false and inauthentic replicate of travel based on escapist fantasies (Boorstin, 1987; Turner and Ash, 1991; for an overview, see Urbain, 1993), Enzensberger saw a critical moment in tourist escape:

> "The flood of tourism is, in fact, nothing but a gigantic escape from the kind of reality with which our society surrounds us. This escape, no matter how inane or helpless it may be, criticizes that from which it withdraws" (1996: 135).

Enzensberger concurs with Boorstin in highlighting the escapist component of tourism, but rather than demeaning tourists as golden hordes of cultural dupes, he sees them as 'exploited' by the tourist industry and as ultimately testifying "against us, not for us" (1996: 135). Whilst

he does not explicitly speak of escape or a critique of 'everyday life', a concept that only began to be disseminated during the 1950's, he points to a clash between a Romantic notion of freedom and the working and living conditions of industrial bourgeois society. This clash constitutes for him the basic opposition feeding the dialectical unfolding of tourism.

While Enzensberger's neo-Marxist dialectic is based on an opposition between a cultural ideal and the real conditions of industrial work and bourgeois life, the dialectic discussed by the American anthropologist Nelson Graburn in *Tourism: A Sacred Journey* (1995 [1976]) is caused by 'human exploratory behaviour' and understood as sequences of societal 're-creation'. For Graburn, tourism is one of "those structurally necessary breaks in routine that define and relieve the ordinary" (1995: 23) and is therefore "functionally and symbolically equivalent to other institutions that humans use to embellish and add meaning to their lives" (1995: 22). In this way, tourism expresses a major symbolic structure of society, which is based on symbolic oppositions that have the same value in structural terms: home/away; stay/travel; work/play; compulsory/voluntary; ordinary/extraordinary; profane/sacred. Following the tradition of French symbolic structuralism and influenced by the interpretation of tourism offered by Dean MacCannell (1973; 1999 [1976]), Graburn sees tourism as a state, a 'micro-life', apart, opposed and complementary to ordinary, workaday life. To quote him in his own terms:

> "The profane period, A, is the everyday life of the "That's life!" descriptive of the ordinary and inevitable. The period of marginality, C, is another life, which, though extraordinary, is perhaps more 'real' than 'real life'" (1995: 26).

The capital letters A and C are not the only unequivocal proof of Graburn's structuralism, but signal too the sequentiality and temporality of the tourist ritual. From this perspective, the contrast of tourism with everyday life is such that 're-entry' is often described as a culture shock, since tourists need to come to terms with their past selves which do not seem to quite fit their new persons, re-created and renewed during travel.

This vision of tourism as opposed to everyday life has been crowned with John Urry's famous book *The Tourist Gaze* (1990), which offers however a different understanding of this "basic binary division between the ordinary/everyday and the extraordinary" (Urry 1990: 11). Indeed, rather than simply reproducing a 'structural ontology', as Franklin recently criticized (2004: 282), Urry pleads for this structural opposition to be put in a historical context and gives also his interpretation a post-modernist twist. At the beginning of his book, Urry emphasizes that there is no single tourist gaze, arguing, against structuralist accounts, such as

Graburn's. that there is no universal tourist experience. He also claims that the tourist gaze upon the extraordinary varies historically depending on the forms of social experience and consciousness and sets of social activities and signs defining what counts as non-tourist social practices. Rather than the annual rituals of re-creation, the study of tourism resembles the study of deviance, for it reveals 'normal' aspects and practices of everyday life that otherwise would remain opaque. Instead of deviance, however, Urry points to the notion of 'departure' as constituent of the movement involved in tourism.

Apart from this, Urry considers the distinction 'ordinary/everyday life and extraordinary' to be a post-modern cultural form, which is available for the tourist gaze and for an industry, which revolves around this binary division.

> "[P]otential objects of the tourist gaze must be different *in some way or another*. They must be out of the ordinary. People must experience particularly distinct pleasures which involve different senses or are on a different scale from those typically encountered in everyday life. There are *many ways* in which such a division between the ordinary and the extraordinary can be *established and sustained*" (1990: 11-12, emphasis IF).

Urry enumerates multiple ways in which the binary opposition ordinary/extraordinary appears in tourism: unique objects (the Wall), a typical sign of an extraordinary context (the typical Berlin pedestrian light), unfamiliar aspects previously familiar (the typical East-German Trabant), ordinary aspects of life in extraordinary environments (Bus Line 100), signs claiming extraordinariness of objects or places that don't seem extraordinary (*Schaustelle* Berlin). The list is certainly not exhaustive and, as it reminds Jorge Luis Borges' classification of animals[1], it shows Urry's post-modernist transformation of an underlying structural opposition into a sort of theme or topic that is re-produced ('established and sustained') by tourism.

All these understandings of tourism rely on a notion of 'the everyday as bad', a widespread commonplace that is based on a short-sighted vision of the everyday as repetition and routine. While this negative dimension of the everyday is implicitly accepted by some theoreticians of the everyday, such as Henri Lefebvre (1991a; 2002) or more recently John Fiske (1989a; 1989b), none of them would accept that travelling away from home represents a

[1] Animals are divided into: "(a) belonging to the Emperor, (b) embalmed, (c) tame, (d) sucking pigs, (e) sirens, (f) fabulous, (g) stray dogs, (h) included in the present classification, (i) frenzied, (j) innumerable, (k) drawn with a fine camelhair brush, (l) *et cetera*, (m) having just broken the flower pitch, ()that from far way off look like flies" (cited in Foucault 2001: xvi).

major strategy for counteracting the dull monotonies of commonplace routine. This corresponds to a very conservative conception of the everyday, which neglects the capacity of the everyday to elude total institutionalisation, commoditization or bureaucratisation (Lefebvre 1991) and to embrace creative and contestational tactics (de Certeau, 1988). These authors work indeed with much more dynamic and complex notions of the everyday than the ones cited above.

Paying attention to the critics of Lefebvre, de Certeau or Fiske shows the out-datedness of associating repetition with domination and innovation with agency or resistance. Rita Felski, for example, has convincingly argued that repetition and routine entail a much more complex blend of the social and the psyche, which constitutes 'who we are' (Felski, 1999/2000). From a different perspective, Mike Michael has elaborated an understanding of the everyday "as an altogether more complex domain; [where] discipline generates disorder as well as order; repetition leads to invention as well as alienation" (Michael, 2006: 28). From these perspectives, it is clearly inappropriate to define tourism as the opposite to some alienating and disempowering compulsory routines.

Dean MacCannell argues that the everyday life to which tourism is usually contrasted, is far from being true to Erving Goffman's, Sigmund Freud's or Karl Marx's conceptions of everyday life, for whom "[it] is where character is gained and lost; it is the original locus of psychological and other kinds of drama; and in everyday relations to production is found the engine of history" (MacCannell, 2001b: 25). The previous understanding of tourism is then inadequate to explain why tourists – "whose everyday lives *are* exciting and rarely boring, whose work is productive, creative and appreciated, who maintain strong erotic and other attachments to their lovers, and who are buoyed by a large network of engaging friends, relatives and acquaintances" (MacCannell 2001: 25) - would ever "want or need to get away of it" (Franklin 2004: 277). Apart from this, another problem of the equation of tourism with a departure from home is that it leads to a blending of tourism with other forms of global mobility and to a false reification of tourists and hosts, overlooking forms of tourism at home and of non-tourist travel.

6.1.2. Tourism and the Quest for the Authentic Everyday

In the very influential theory of tourism developed by Dean MacCannell (1999 [1976]), the notion of 'everyday life' as a space of authenticity, purity and real life played a central role in

the definition of tourism, especially to describe the nature of the objects of the tourist quest. MacCannell's key contribution to tourism research was to argue that rather than *escaping*, tourists were *attracted* by other places and other times, becoming thus one of the first authors putting forward a positive understanding of what tourism might be about. Tourism, he argued, is not just the opposite of the ordinary, but a quest for authenticity, the expression of people's longing for authentic experiences: "All tourists desire this deeper involvement with society and culture to some degree; it is a basic motivation of their motivation of travel" (1999: 10).

In his seminal article 'Staged Authenticity' (1973) MacCannell embedded the study of tourism in the notion of everyday life developed by the American sociologist and linguist Erving Goffman in *The Presentation of the Self in Everyday Life* (1959). Goffman described the differentiation of social activity and experience into two separated, but complementary areas or regions that he called front and back regions, reproducing the theatrical opposition between stage and backstage and thereby between inauthentic re-presentation and authentic experience. The ground-breaking move made by MacCannell (1973) was to take this notion for the analysis of tourism: "Tourist experience is circumscribed by the structural tendencies described here [back and front division]" (1973: 592). This structural formation, argued MacCannell, leads to a double movement, to a particular dialectic, which is a constituent part of tourism. While tourists try to penetrate the backstage regions of the destination, the "authentic" everyday life of the destination is staged for the tourists,

> "It is only when a person makes an effort to penetrate into the real life of the areas he visits that he ends up in places especially designed to generate feelings of intimacy and experiences that can be talked about as 'participation'. No one can 'participate' in his own life, he can only participate in the lives of others" (1973: 601).

MacCannell's theory inverted thus the hitherto understanding of the relationship between tourism and everyday life. It was now the real life of 'Others' and not one's own routine everyday life that drove people to tour the world.

These insights were rapidly incorporated by a series of authors with different approaches. Graburn (1995 [1976]) searched for authenticity throughout his 'sacred journey'. Cohen (1979) retuned his prior description of tourist experiences (Cohen, 1972) and introduced three new types of tourists who seek meaning elsewhere: the experiential, experimental and existential. The search for the everyday life of Others has been also stressed by the German ethnologist Regina Römhild in her work on urban "histourism" (1994), a form of tourism based on a fascination with the historical ambiance of small towns and cities.

While she follows Enzensberger's description of tourism as a form of escape – and with some condescending undertones regarding the tourists-, the centrality of the quest for the everyday life of 'Others' becomes evident when she comes to the description of the 'Bereisten' (those travelled or toured):

> "Tourism does not stop anymore on the border of the private sphere. In old cities, inhabitants suddenly encounter foreign visitors standing in the backyard and taking photographs, looking through the windows or ringing at the door to take a look at the interiors of the cute timber framed homes. What bothers is not the tourists' interest in itself, but the natural way in which they assume they can consume the living space of the inhabitants as a constituent part of the tourist offering" (Römhild, 1994: 20).[i]

An even more radical transformation of the everyday life of a destination into the main tourist attraction has been observed in 'off-the-beaten-track' districts of English cities, such as Islington in North London, "a locality that lacks a large attraction, acknowledged distinctive heritage and has not been planned as a destination" (Maitland and Newman, 2004: 339). In these places, commonplace elements such as English retail chains including TESCO, Marks and Spencer, public houses, offices and residential areas are increasingly becoming constituent parts of the tourist quest.[2]

Even though the work of these authors can be looked at in light of MacCannell's work, they distance themselves from MacCannell's (and indirectly Goffman's) dramaturgical approach in two critical areas. On the one hand, numerous authors have pointed out that this quest for authenticity cannot be predicated for *all* tourists (Cohen, 1979; Feifer, 1985; Urry, 1990). On the other hand, it has been rightly argued that forms of staged authenticity are in no respect specific to tourism, since all cultures and cultural expressions are staged and at the same time authentic and unauthentic (Bruner, 2005; Crick, 1989; Urry, 1990). Apart from these points, the major problem of MacCannell's theory is that:

> "[…] these oppositions cannot simply be mapped on to and grounded in the spatial structures of front and back regions […] not only because empirically front and back regions are often blurred [… but] also because simple associations of front-stage with a put on performance, and back-stage with 'natural' behaviour, are stultifying to critical analysis" (P. Crang, 1997b: 149).

Everyday life is indeed not sustained by a unique perspective or a unique focus as noted by French urban anthropologist Isaac Joseph (1999). As soon as one leaves the theatre, the backstage/stage distinction is not demarcated. Actors need to be attentive to indexes of

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[2] Historical accounts on the curiosity of travellers and tourists in early 19th-century dispute the implicit thesis of Röhmild, Maitland and Newmann that this is a completely new phenomenon (see Kaschuba 1991).

aperture and closure of situations and constant interference between representation and audience occurs. Taking into consideration these and other flaws (see also Chaney, 2002), it is not surprising that MacCannell's description of tourist dynamics practically vanished from the literature on tourism after the early 1990's, being only the subject of critical reception, as in the case of Philip Crang (1997b).

Aware of the inadequacy of the dramaturgical metaphor for making sense of the situational order of society, Goffman himself (1974 [1971]) proposed a move towards frame analysis; a suggestion that came perhaps too late to influence the concept of 'staged authenticity' (MacCannell, 1973). It is crucial to follow the thought of Goffman in his transition to frame analysis, if tourist practices are to be considered as highly specific types of social activity, a premise that should not be given up as a consequence of the flaws in the theatrical metaphor. Sacrificed should be rather the association of the everyday with authenticity and the description of tourism as a quest for authenticity, for they are based on the transformation of the everyday into something else, more interesting for cultural studies than the simple banality of the ordinary.

Indeed, as Joe Moran in *Reading the Everyday* (2005) has argued, the usual trick of cultural studies' accounts of everyday life consists in making the banal interesting by transforming it into acts of subordinate resistance, as in Lefebvre or de Certeau, or by means of a semiotic reinvention, as seems to be the strategy of Dean MacCannell. His tourists indeed resemble semioticians like Roland Barthes, devoted to reading the meta-languages of everyday things and aware of secondary connotations alongside more obvious meanings, "Every object in the world can pass from a closed, silent existence to an oral state, open to appropriation by society" (Barthes quoted in Moran 2005: 22). Moran argues following Lefebvre that the everyday cannot be reduced to a text and that the "fetichism of signification", typical of structuralism, "is ill-equiped to deal with the blankness and boredom of daily life" (Moran 2005: 22). The everyday is an "elusive category, fragmented and heterogeneous" (Michael 2006: 22) rather than a space of semiotic expression. Thus, while Moran (2005) argues that what is necessary is a critical strategy to *read* the boring and the banal, without transforming it into something else, Michael proposes the idea of *capturing* the everyday, which "by comparison, denotes an active, creative and continuous process of chasing, stalking and grappling, while at the same connotes its obverse, 'escaping'" (2006: 23).

6.1.3. Melting Tourism into Everyday life

A third form of relating tourism to the everyday life emerged to become particularly salient during the 1990's probably as a consequence of the critiques of the two perspectives described above and in the light of the growing influence of praxeological perspectives over structuralist ones (Selby, 2004b). Since then the relevant literature has slowly moved to the thesis that tourism is an integral part of everyday life and should not be exoticized by putting it as the opposite to everyday life.

One of the central triggers for this turn was John Urry's description of tourism as a gaze (1990), which implied that the basic mode of tourist appropriation is visual, and a powerful subject, a unidirectional movement, and a powerless object. These two contentions were so provocative that their articulation prompted scholars, on the one hand, to investigate the role of other senses in tourism, the embodied character of tourist practices (Crouch, 2002) and the role of movement, space, materialities, etc. (e.g. Coleman and Crang, 2002a; Haldrup and Larsen, 2006; Lury, 1997) and, on the other hand, to reassess the nature of the visual in tourism (e.g. Crang, 1997a; Crouch and Lübbren, 2003; Selwyn, 1996b), emphasizing the fluid character of travel glances (e.g. Crouch, 2002; Larsen, 2001; Larsen, 2004) and the constitutive role of forms of gazing back and the second gaze (e.g. MacCannell, 2001b). The literature on these issues is certainly abundant. It is therefore important to understand what underlies the new understanding of tourism as an integral part of everyday life; a thesis that only begun to be explicitly formulated in recent years (e.g. Edensor, 2001; Franklin, 2003; Franklin, 2004; Franklin and Crang, 2001; Obrador Pons, 2003; Urry, 2001a). This integration of tourism into the everyday has been described in terms of an 'extraordinary everyday' and of an 'ordinary tourism', two arguments which I will explore in some detail.

Mobility beyond societies (Urry, 2000) and the cultural flows of globalization (Appadurai, 1996) are two central features of contemporary globalising society constantly stressed by scholars to describe the place of tourism as a constituent of a new everyday life. In the second edition of *The Tourist Gaze* (2001b) Urry suggested remarkably that as a consequence of the generalization of the economy of signs and the dissolution of the differences between home and away we can observe the 'end of tourism'. At the same time, a new journal of *Tourist Studies* was launched by Adrian Franklin and Mike Crang, who in their inaugural article argued that "(t)ourism is at least part of the way we now perceive the world

around us, wherever we are and whatever we do" (2001: 8). For these authors, the proliferation of tourism and tourist attractions throughout the world means that "more or less *everyone* now lives in a world rendered or reconfigured as interesting, entertaining and attractive – for tourists" (íbid: 9) and is increasingly exposed to and attracted by forms of tourist knowledge about their localities including, its history and its nature. Thus, tourism would be no longer embedded in circular mobility –departing and then returning- but in larger global flows of people, objects, images, ideas that reconfigure the everyday life as an 'extraordinary everyday'. In a more recent publication, Franklin (2003) insisted on this *infusion* of tourism into everyday life, arguing, in addition, that the most usual leisure activities overlap with tourist activities and are undertaken by locals alongside tourists and in a tourist manner. Like Urry (2001a; 2001b), Franklin argues that tourism is a central and inextricable cultural process of globalization and, with undertones reminiscent of MacCannell's inflated vision of the tourist as "one of the best models available for modern-man-in-general" (1999: 1), he argues that tourism has become a central metaphor for everyday life in globalized and consumer societies.

While globalization seems to make everyday life around the world extraordinary, tourism scholars have also started to feel the need to 'de-exoticize' tourism (Franklin and Crang, 2001), emphasizing the ordinary and prosaic character of those activities undertaken when people are abroad. Probably the most extreme example of such a conception of tourism is Pau Obrador Pons' provocative description of tourism as a form of dwelling in the Heideggerian sense of 'being in the world' (Obrador Pons, 2003). While recognizing that the authentic mode of dwelling Heiddeger (1993a) had in mind was rooted in a particular piece of earth, Obrador Pons argues that the metaphor of 'being in the world' permits the consideration of ways of dwelling in mobilities as "an everyday skilful, embodied coping and engagement with the environment" (2003: 49). The turn in tourism studies articulated by Obrador Pons implies moving from questions of location to question of involvement, from social structure and consciousness to practices and the role of the body, in order to catch up on the embeddedness of the experience of being a tourist in practices and space.

> "The most relevant embodied practices through which we become tourists are everyday ordinary, and often non-representational, practices […] Grasping only what is exceptional underplays […] the continued relevance of routines and habits in the configuration of the tourist experience" (Obrador Pons, 2003: 52).

From this perspective, the body acquires a central role as a body-subject that is lived, situated, active and sensual and that enables modes of tourist experience based on corporeal

participation and involvement. It is not just a media for touring the world or an object of tourist representation. Dwelling, argues Obrador Pons, involves also de-centring the tourist and bounded conceptions of the body to reveal the relational character of the tourist experience as an effect of large socio-technical and rhizomatic networks of heterogeneous processes. This involves paying particular attention to the active role of materialities and other technologies of being.

In my understanding, the provocative argument presented by Obrador Pons is flawed in a specific and empirical way, which is symptomatic of a more general problem connected to this attempted infusion of tourism into ordinary everyday life. Obrador Pons argues that the big challenge for tourism studies is to identify the particularity and originality of a tourist dwelling. This empirical challenge remains unanswered in his article, in my view, as a consequence of the equation he assumes between a flat ontology of practices, bodies and materialities, on the one hand, and the primacy of everyday ordinary practices over 'extraordinary practices', such as sightseeing, on the other hand. Thus, it is not surprising that the question "what makes such a tourist dwelling different and original" (Obrador Pons, 2003: 52) remains unanswered. I would argue that if we want to understand the specificity of tourism, it might be wiser to take a look at precisely these 'extraordinary practices' and analyse them from exactly the non-representational, flat ontological position outlined by Obrador Pons. A similar critique applies for the argument that seeks to diffuse tourism into extraordinary everyday life, a shortcut that can only provide analogies for tourism and contemporary everyday life and unsatisfactory descriptions of the way highly specific tourist frames of experience are produced.

The positions sketched above are based on what Stephen Crook, in his critical revision of the everyday in recent social theory, called "the Minotaur of the everyday life" (1998: 523). This Minotaur is based on "an elision of two kinds of 'formal' and 'substantive' concepts, of the supposed (formal) presuppositions of all social life and a particular, if ill-defined, sub-class of (substantive) social life" (1998: 524). The critique of Crook points to conceptions of everyday life inspired by phenomenological approaches. Jürgen Habermas's concept of an everyday 'lifeworld', for example, points simultaneously to the "transcendental frame of possible everyday experience" (formal communication-theoretical presupposition) and "the totality of state or affairs that can be reported in true stories" (substantive culture-laden

description) (Habermas, 1987: 129, 136). A similar elision, I would argue, is at the root of the attempts described above to dissolve tourism into the everyday.

The Minotaur-like concept of the everyday predominant in contemporary tourism studies points, on the one hand, to the substantive and historical circumstances of globalized consumerist societies (the 'extraordinariness of the everyday') and, on the other hand, to fundamental formal features of human experience (the 'ordinariness of tourism'). The problem with such elision, rightly pointed out by Crook, is that it suggests that the "everyday life is a discrete and naturally occurring region (or type) of activity (or experience) that exhibits peculiarly marked reliance on 'taken-for-grantedness'" (Crook, 1998: 528). Arguing that tourism is a constitutive part of everyday life implies the impossibility of understanding and describing any specific features of tourism.

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Summing up, I would argue that even though there is a clear development in the definitions of tourism, from a radical opposing towards its dissolution into everyday life, the appeal to notions of everyday life is inadequate to provide tourism studies with a sharp and precise understanding of what tourist activity is about. As I have shown, these three approaches use rather simplistic notions of the everyday and fail to provide a positive understanding of what tourism is or how it emerges. Looking at these three approaches simultaneously one realizes that importing notions of everyday life into tourism research has resulted in a very messy account. Tourists are said to be escaping their everyday lives, but fascinated with the everyday lives of 'Others', even though their own everyday lives are already mixed with the everyday lives of 'Others' and their travels are nothing but heightened extensions of their own everyday lives. It therefore seems that the distinction everyday/extraordinary is rather inappropriate to account for the phenomenon of tourism.

6.2. Overflowed Tourism: Everyday Banality and Totalizing Entanglements

The relationship between tourism, and particularly urban tourism, and everyday life requires urgent reconsideration. Indeed, regardless of the criticism above, the notion of everyday life constitutes a crucial aspect of city life that cannot be ignored when analysing the practices and experiences involved in urban tourism. This, however, implies the need to reassess the notion of everyday life.

A good departure point for this is Lefebvre's emphatic assertion that "the everyday is not a synonym for *praxis*" (2002: 45), but a *level* of social practice. His classical definition states,

> "Everyday life, in a sense residual, [is] defined by 'what is left over' after all distinct, superior, specialized, structured activities have been singled out by analysis […] Considered in their specialization and their technicality, superior activities leave a 'technical vacuum' between one another which is filled up by everyday life. Everyday life is profoundly related to all activities, and encompasses them with all their differences and their conflicts; it is their meeting ground, their bond, their common ground" (Lefebvre, 1991a: 97).

Lefebvre's theory of everyday life does not designate a region, type of activity or system of knowledge, but seeks rather to describe a level of society that crosses through different regions and systems of activities. Above all, the everyday involves banal experiences that slip in through the interstices of specific types of activities, filling up its gaps, 'technical vacuums' and blank moments.

Joe Moran (2005) has pointed to the experience of waiting, as one of the major examples of the everyday. Examples should include not just the organized forms of waiting, pointed out by Moran, but also the shortest and reflex pauses in threads of social activity, since they involve an unavoidable experience associated with compulsive wasted time and interstitial space. Using a Deleuzian vocabulary, Nigel Thrift and Ash Amin describe this level of social activity in terms of the 'whatever' and the 'meanwhile', respectively, "the white space of conjunctions, meetings and discussions, the part of the event which is not reducible to the state of things" and the moment that "neither takes place or follows, but is present in the immensity of empty time" (Amin and Thrift, 2002: 46-47).

Lefebvre defines this level of social activity simultaneously as a residual deposit and as a product of threads of sophisticated social activities. In order to visualize the everyday, Lefebvre usually asks his readers to imagine what would be left if one takes out 'all distinct, superior, specialized, structured activities'. In one passage (2002: 46-47), he argues that while the positivist would state that then *nothing* is left and the metaphysician would argue that *everything* remains ontologically intact, the correct answer is *something*. Lefebvre gives the example of the dreary and repetitive activities of cleaning and repairing. Such activities, he argues, can certainly be reduced to the need for cleaning and to particular cleaning technologies, techniques and materials. To do this, however, would overlook the everyday

level incrusted in these activities as a residual deposit of the banal. On the one hand, it unfolds and persists surreptitiously, insignificantly, imperceptibly as a radical passivity that cannot be equated to endured states of boredom or tedium whilst on the other hand, it lags behind history. The residual banality of the everyday resides thus not only "*outside* of the sphere of 'meaning' and human emotion" (Seigworth, 2000: 231), but also "outside historical change" (Moran, 2005: 163).

The everyday is also a *product* of concurrent levels of activity and certainly of history. In a short chapter on 'The idea of level' (2002: 118-125), Lefebvre neglects the structural idea of precise and separate levels and suggests that levels implicate, mediate and act upon each other to such an extent that each level contains all others in a state of possibility. Lefebvre concludes that, "multiple 'realities' coexist on each individual level, implying and (mutually) implied, enveloping and enveloped, encompassing and encompassed, unmediated and mediated" (2002: 120). Correspondingly, the everyday is also a 'product' of specialized and structured activities and cannot be dissociated from other levels of social life, such as historical change. Indeed, Lefebvre suggests that while 'daily life' has always existed, the everyday constitutes a product of societal transformation. As a historically produced plane of existence, the everyday is rooted in modernity and particularly in the modern city, coming into being as a result of the new complexities created by and simultaneously exceeding the city.

Lefebvre's insights into the everyday configure a radically different departure point for understanding urban tourism. Everyday life is thus definitely present in urban tourism as a *level* of social practice and as a *product* of modernity, especially of the modern city. The question is then how this intromission of the everyday in tourist practices should be imagined and understood.

The work of Michel de Certeau supplies a central insight for understanding what he calls, the overflowing [*débordement*] of the commonplace into other forms of social activity, such as tourism. At the very beginning of *The Practice of Everyday Life* (1988), Michel de Certeau explains that his research proposes a shift towards the ways in which users operate and appropriate the space organized by socio-cultural production by means of innumerable practices. The aim of his project is twofold. It involves, on the one hand, the careful description and restoration of cultural legitimacy to everyday practices such as reading,

talking, walking or dwelling, which are understood as tactical in character. It foresees, on the other hand, investigating "the extension of these everyday operations to scientific fields apparently governed by another kind of logic" (de Certeau, 1988: xvii-xviii).

The research and political agenda associated with the first aim –the (romanticized) elevation of everyday tactics (for this critique, see Amin and Thrift, 2002)- has become the main legacy of de Certeau's work and has been adopted by a number of scholars. Of greater interest to this chapter's discussion is the analysis provided by de Certeau on the second of these objectives, i.e. to visualize the intromission of the commonplace and the banal into the field of academic writing and knowledge. De Certeau speaks here of an overflowing of the everyday, "the work of overflowing operates by insinuation of the ordinary into scientific fields" (1988: 5). This idea of the everyday as an overflow that introduces itself is indeed crucial for understanding of the embeddedness of tourist practices in the everyday.

The central question discussed by de Certeau is the consequences of such overflowing of the everyday into academic writing and knowledge. He discusses in detail the problem of speaking in the name of "*der gemeine Mann* (the common man) [sic]" (1988: 2), discussing its use as a principle of totalization and ethical generalization and as a principle of plausibility. Against the background of such uses, de Certeau pleads for an approach to culture in which 'the ordinary man' [sic] becomes not only the narrator, but also the one defining the place of discourse,

> "Far from arbitrarily assuming the privilege of speaking in the name of the ordinary (it cannot be spoken), or claiming to be in that general place (that would be a false mysticism), or, worse, offering up a hagiographic everydayness for its edifying value, it is a matter of restoring historicity to the movement which leads analytical procedures back to their frontiers, to the point where they are changed, indeed disturbed, by the *ironic and mad banality* that speaks in "Everyman" […] The task consists […] in showing how *it introduces itself into our techniques* […] and how it can reorganize the place from which discourse is produced […]" (de Certeau, 1988: 5, emphases IF).

Crucial here is this association of the everyday with an 'ironic and mad banality' that 'introduces itself into our techniques'. As Morris (1990) and Seigworth (2000) have rightly observed, the all-encompassing character and pervasiveness of the everyday is to be understood above all as banal overflows, which amount to a passive displacement, a neutral transformation, not to boredom or triviality.

One way of grasping the challenge posed by these banal overflows to tourist practices in urban spaces is to revise the description of situations of 'radical urbanity' developed by the Spanish anthropologist Manuel Delgado (1999; 2007). Departing from Lefebvre's distinctions between the city (conceived space) and the urban (everyday lived space), Delgado argues that the specificity of the urban experience lies with the immanent instability and effervescence of forms of minimal sociality based on constant movement, ambiguity and transitivity and on the principles (and political rights!) of anonymity and indifference. Urban space is described by Delgado as the space of the event and of pure activity liberated from fixed relations between subjects and objects rather than a site of social or structural reproduction. In contrast to the negativity of Marc Auge's account of 'non-places' (1995), Delgado retrieves a much more generative ontology of the non-place and the non-city:

> "The non-city is an order that simultaneously organizes and disorganizes society and corresponds to nothing but labour. What constitutes the city is the same as that which dissolves it, a non-city that is not the opposite to the city […], but a perpetual unmaking of what is already made and a ceaseless remaking of what we saw disintegrating in front of our eyes" (Delgado 2007: 62-63, transl. IF).[ii]

A crucial feature of streets, sidewalks, boulevards, squares, transit spaces and other sites of this non-city urbanity is the radical minimization of users' signs of identity or authenticity:

> "[E]ach of them, bank employees, natives, nurses, as soon as they get out of home or work, turns into something else. And this something else is a social role that we have neglected. We know what people are on one site and at the next, but we do not study what people are when they go from one place to the next" (Delgado in Farías, 2004: 6, transl. IF).[iii]

Delgado argues that this radical urbanity makes groups experience a loosening of their unity and consistency and confronts individuals with high levels of indeterminacy. In this space, a new *a*-social figure emerges, the transient passer-by, who does not just represent, but literally is "*someone* or *anyone in general*, or, if you prefer, *everyone in particular*" (Delgado 2007: 188, transl. IF).[iv] On the streets, he argues, social beings defeat their own names and identities and can refuse to proclaim who they are. The radical experience of the urban space offers thus a diffuse and faceless 'Other', rather than a concretion of a generalized 'Other'. This is precisely the challenge that the urban everyday poses to tourism, reaching tourists and other passers-by with its banal overflows and its pull towards anonymity and minimal sociality, and menacing with transforming, or more properly, reducing all of them, tourist and non-tourists, to transient shadows of themselves.

There is yet a second phenomenon also connected with the enmeshing of the everyday that undermines the possibility of holding a specifically tourist gaze. Indeed, it is not just that while strolling down Friedrichstrasse or taking a bus-tour from Alexanderplatz to Zoologischer Garten, that tourists and tourist practices are blurred by this banality of the everyday. Their experiences are also constantly entangled with various different elements including values, biographies, social relations and group pressure.

Following some discussions in contemporary economic anthropology I would argue that tourist activity is also undermined by totalizing entanglements with personal histories and identities and with other types of activism. The work of the British anthropologist Daniel Miller on economic life in market societies has shown that market transactions constitute highly entangled social practices that cannot be understood based on economic calculation, rational exchange or market rationality. Miller provides a useful hypothetical ethnographic example of the multiple entanglements involved in economic transactions. His description of a recently divorced French woman named Sophie, mother of two children with a stylish circle of friends, who is about to buy a new Renault car, shows the multiple elements and considerations including aesthetics, thrift, parenting, sense of autonomy, environmentalism, nationalism, entangled with her decision, preventing her and the purchase situation to be framed in terms of economic calculation:

> "[…] far from seeing this as a moment of disentanglement we are closer to Jean Paul Sartre's (1976) conceptualization of a moment of aesthetic totalization, in which everything – from past suffering to possible future pleasure, from all her social relationships to all other economic possibilities that are contingent upon this particularly large purchase- come together in this choice of a particular style and the weighing up of a constellation of values" (Miller 2002: 226).

These entanglements that render the question of price into one of value do not just 'affect' the consumption side or consumers. Miller argues that they are also constitutive of the salesman, whose "economic behaviour is not just embedded in his own complex world of family, colleagues and corporation. But, more than this, he aims at an *increasing* entanglement of the car in the meanings that make up Sophie's world" (rephrased by Slater, 2002: 236). Moreover, the complete production side of the automobile industry in the widest cultural sense of the term, from engineers working on car-prototypes to the marketing strategies, is then seen by Miller as oriented to produce this total entanglement of the car with Sophie's particular world.

The challenge that can be extrapolated from Miller's position for the study of tourism is that looking at practices of people in situation of leisure travel *as* tourist practices is a tricky assumption, for a closer look reveals that specific tourist activities, such as sightseeing, are rather peripheral. Indeed, totalizing entanglements are not something new for tourism scholars and tourists, who very often bring into travel experiences all possible kinds of personal and socio-cultural entanglements, rendering the trip into a total experience constitutive of lives, identities and societies. Radically new is, however, the logical conclusion that Miller reaches, and which in the case of tourism would suggest that tourist practices do not exist as such. They are so embedded and so entangled with all kinds of personal, social and cultural values, elements and practices that describing and qualifying them as being tourist practices cannot suffice for their analysis.

All this poses a central question for the study of tourist practices, namely, how does tourism despite its constant entanglement with the banality and the totalizations of everyday life becomes a separate region of activity and a highly specific type of socio-cultural practice? The ceaseless overflowing of banality and moments of aesthetic totalization constitute two major obstacles that tourist practices have to, if not overcome, at least handle, in order to keep their tourist quality. The question I would like to answer in the next section is how is tourism disentangled and reproduced as a particular form of experiencing, inhabiting, and gazing upon the city. In other words, how does tourism constitute itself?

6.3. Framing and Overflowing Dynamics of Tourists Situations

The notion of overflowing is intimately entwined with the concept of framing. I would like to explore the relevance of thinking in terms of dynamics of framing/overflowing to understand how tourism is constituted as a particular form of activity within the context of the everyday. My sense is that the concept of frame allows us to develop an intermediate position between approaches that exacerbate the autonomy of tourism and those that suggest a radical dissolution of tourism in the everyday life.

Any attempt at a frame analysis of tourist practices needs to refer to the work of Erving Goffman on the situational organization of experience (1974). By looking at the public order and its interactional logic and at the good manners of everyday life, Goffman executed innovative investigations into the materiality and vulnerability of social bonds and the question of how society is possible. The decision to look at interactions was certainly a central

part of Goffman's answer. Infinite threads of situations were understood by him to be the basic flows, which as they circulate make society, and our experience of it, possible. As Isaac Joseph has noted (1998), for Goffman, society does not exist as such, but corresponds to a movement bringing together or separating already constituted constellations. This reading suggests an affinity of Goffman's work with Actor-Network Theory, which seeks to understand the social as the work of translation and association "between things that are not themselves social" (see also Callon, 1986; Latour, 2005b: 5). However, Goffman's answer to the question about social order does not only point to these associations. At the root of his dramaturgical approach and the posterior frame analysis lies the assumption that the consistency of social bonds is organized around regions of signification with rules of pertinence that circumscribe interactions. While society constitutes an emergent form of situated consistency, sociality is then about the transit from one system of situated activities to the other and about the mutual adjustments such movements imply.

In *Frame Analysis* (1974), his last major work, Goffman understands such consistencies through the notion of frame, distancing himself from his own dramaturgical approach to situations. The theatrical metaphor and the notion of frame have in common a focus on action instead of actors, as well as on the conditions of "interobjectivity" (Latour, 1996), in which the action is interpreted. Similarly, the idea of interaction as a reciprocal and emergent action present in dramaturgical and frame approaches is opposed to both the idea of an external code structuring interactions and the assumption of the exteriority of participants. But even though the dramaturgical approach introduced into the analysis a notion of ritual and the sacred/profane division, it relied too heavily on assumptions regarding divisions of regions of activity (back and front regions) and of roles (actors and public). These assumptions are rejected in frame analysis, which provides thus a suitable general model for the description of social activity. But what are these frames and how can they help to understand tourist activities?

The idea of 'frame' refers to a cognitive and practical device for the attribution of meaning. In this manner, frames define not only interpretative positions, but also sites or fields of activity. The frame is a 'ready-made' that conveys cognitive and practical dispositions for interpretation and involvement; i.e. providing a way to describe events and for participants to become spontaneously engrossed and caught up by the activity in which they are participating. In this sense, frames do not represent states of mind, but are "principles

of organization which govern events –at least social ones- and our subjective involvement in them" (Goffman 1974: 10-11). Rather than a schema producing interpretations, frames constitute moments and sites of situated activity. As boundaries, or 'partitions, hideaways, fire-doors' as Latour has called them (1996), frames provide an answer to the question "What is it that's going on here?" (Goffman 1974: 25). They ratify the positions and identities of participants, define normative expectations, introduce rules of communication between them and define visibility conditions. Frames affect not only participants in an activity, but also bystanders, who can also recognise the frame enacted in a particular situation: what's going on here or there, depending on the position, is, for example, tourism. Indeed, there are numerous situations in which individuals including ethnologists, can give such an answer in one voice. Following this, it must be argued that tourism equals not travel, leisure, being away from home, global mobility or anything like that. Tourism is primarily a situation, or more precisely, tourism is a ready-made frame available for defining, connecting and getting involved in situations.

Frame analysis aims to "isolate some of the basic frameworks of understanding available in our society for making sense out of events and to analyze the special vulnerabilities to which these frames of reference are subject" (Goffman 1974: 10). Precisely because frames flow from situation to situation, they are also very spurious and vulnerable. It is not just the occurrence of the unmanageable – events that cannot be ignored and to which the frame cannot be applied- that might lead to a frame breaking, but also the fact framed activity always, almost inevitably, coexists with other modes and lines of activity which take place at the same spatial-temporal locale. This coexistence is particularly clear in the case of tourist practices in urban spaces, where a number of other aspects, from pedestrian and transit regulations to commercial activity and outdoor advertising, coexist with tourist frames. In this sense, frames are literally pursued by participants *across* a range of events, elements and storylines. Despite the coexistence of frames within sites and moments, it is possible to perceive and describe fields of activity as constituted in terms of one chiefly relevant frame. Goffman goes even further to argue that given this, the idea of an everyday life as a fuzzy set of embodied micro-practices, tactics and alternative forms of knowledge is misleading:

> "To speak here of 'everyday life' or, as Schutz does, of the 'world of wide-awake practical realities' is merely to take a shot in the dark. As suggested, a multitude of frameworks may be involved or none at all" (Goffman 1974: 26)

Instead of denying the concept of everyday, I would argue that tourist practices in urban spaces should be understood as highly vulnerable framed activity *pursued across* the banal overflows and totalizing entanglements allowed by the embeddedness of tourism in everyday life. From the perspective of tourist framed activity, everyday life constitutes an infinite source of overflows, parasites, non-authorized activities, ambiguity and complexity that makes evident the improbable and 'expensive' character of tourist frames. As tours literally show, frames require constant 'investments' from the participants. While Michel Callon (1998) proposes this economic notion to show the work of keeping the frame assembled, Goffman emphasized the different kinds of rules involved in the maintenance and protection of frames: rules of access, rules of impertinence, rules of conjunction, rules of transformation, etc. All events that go against the rules of the frame need to be 'treated as' out of frame or as subordinated activity. It is important to note that this 'treated as' implies that the definition of what is inside and outside the frame is not given, but defined inside the frame, unveiling thus the paradoxical character of frame boundaries:

> "The very points at which internal activity leaves off and the external activity takes over –the rim of the frame itself- become generalized by the individual and taken into his framework of interpretation, thus becoming, recursively, an additional part of the frame" (Goffman 1974: 249).

Last but not least, Goffman's detailed analysis of frames of experience arouses the question about the type of frame these tourist frames might be. Goffman's work provides different alternatives. He speaks, first, of primary frameworks, which he argues can be natural or social and correspond more or less to what in phenomenology is understood to be the 'everyday lifeworld', as seen above, a Minotaur of formalists and substantive assumptions. The specificity of tourist practices can certainly not be grasped from the perspective of primary frameworks, since this would lead to the dissolution of tourism into the ordinary as discussed above. Apart from such primary frameworks, Goffman describes framing processes leading to 'fabrications', which result in the "intentional effort of one or more individuals to manage activity so that a party of one or more others will be induced to have a false belief about what it is that is going on" (1974: 83). While for those involved the frame is a delusion, for those contained by it, the fabrication is what is going on. Given this asymmetry, the unmasking of fabrications leads to those attempting to deceive being discredited and to deception of the contained participants. The description of tourism as a world of fabrication underlies the theoretical strand that defines tourism as a form of staged authenticity described and criticized above.

I would argue that tourist frames involve a transcription, a transposition, a transformation of primary frameworks (leisure travel) into a patterned activity (tourism). Correspondingly, they should be grasped as what Goffman (1974) called a keying; this is a "set of conventions by which a given activity, one already meaningful in terms of some primary framework, is transformed into something patterned on this activity but seen by the participants to be something quite else" (Goffman 1974: 43-44). These notions of keys and keying are connected with Gregory Bateson's analysis of meta-communicative dynamics in animal play. Just as otters' play at fighting involves a transcription of fighting into something different and is mediated by the meta-message 'this is play', I would argue that tourism involves an analogous transformation or transposition of leisure travel into tourism.

According to Goffman (1974), keying implies a systematic transformation according to a schema of interpretation, which is not concealed from the participants, but widely acknowledged as a mode of transformation. Rather than a reduction or an abstraction, keying implies the performative production of something new according to this mode of transformation. Thus, despite radical differences in the 'original' elements subject to keying processes and despite the extent of the effectuated transformation, keying leads to a more or less stable and consensual definition of what is occurring. This is also assured by means of so-called 'cues' (Goffman 1974), which bracket temporally the beginning and end of the keying process.

Tourism therefore implies a sited process of keying and transformation in which individuals reflexively engage rather than a condition associated with a primary framework, such as being away from home. Tourism can be then specified as a general mode of transformation available for the framing of situations as tourist, independently from the particular features and materials involved in these situations which might embrace world-travels, standard tours, eco-tourism, off-the-beaten-track excursions, tourism at home, amongst other things. Understanding tourism as a process of framing, as the late Goffman would have probably suggested, offers a new language for understanding the embeddedness of tourism in everyday life as mediated by dynamics of framing and overflowing.

The simultaneity of framing and overflowing dynamics has recently been emphasized by Michel Callon in his answer to the question "how is the formally rational behaviour

('calculativeness') described by neo-classical economics actually achieved?" (rephrased by Slater 2002: 235). Callon's basic argument is that by means of sociotechnical networks of devices, frames permit the separation and disentanglement of situations from broader socio-cultural contexts. Indeed, Miller's description of totalizing entanglements presented above is part of a critical review that the British anthropologist wrote on the work of the French sociologist. In his critique Miller falls into the trap of freezing Callon's position of advocating a disentangled view of highly specialized situations. This is incorrect. The whole argument of Callon is precisely about situations where overflowings are the rule and framing processes become a very improbable achievement[3].

Commenting on the controversy between Callon and Miller, the British sociologist Don Slater has rightly observed that "[d]isentaglement, therefore does not signify the disembedding of [tourism, IF] in the sense of a separation of [tourism, IF] from culture; it is rather a reframing of culturally meaningful items that never ceases to draw on their 'external' meanings" (Slater 2002: 242). This dynamic is not recognized by Miller and is precisely what distinguishes Callon's from Goffman's views on frame analysis against whom Miller's critique would work. Indeed, even though the omnipresence of overflows is foreseen to an extent in Goffman's (1974) analysis of four types of subordinated tracks –the so-called disattended, directional, dissociated and concealed tracks-, these are mostly seen as "deeds or events managed in what at least appears to be a dissociated way" (Goffman 1974: 202). Callon's novelty is in holding the exact inverted view:

> "Instead of regarding framing as something that happens of itself, and overflows as a kind of accident which must be put right, overflows are the rule and framing is a fragile, artificial result based upon substantial investments" (Callon, 1998: 252).

In my view, Callon's great contribution to Goffman's conception of frame analysis is the next step he takes, when he argues that processes of framing do not occur despite of, but as a consequence of entanglements and overflows. A wholly hermetic frame, argues Callon, would

[3] Indeed, there are other problems in Callon's description. Using a distinction that remembers Lévi-Strauss' take on the savage mind (1966) Callon introduces a distinction between cold and hot situations, depending on whether framing or overflowing are the rule. Hot situations, he adds, have become increasingly invasive and prominent as a consequence of the growing complexity of industrialized society, the rise of technoscience, etc. This modernistic turn is however rather debatable, since as we have shown above, intensity and excess of flows are constituents of everyday life and urban spaces, two quite hot sources of banal overflows and totalizing entanglements.

be condemned to sterile reiteration. He observes insightfully, that the very same resources invested in the process of framing, constitute at the same time intermediaries to wider networks, enabling a bidirectional flow between the inside and the outside of the frame.

Another novelty of Michel Callon's take on framing processes is the emphasis he puts on the role of material, textual and technological devices as central resources for the maintenance of the frame. Indeed, even though Callon recognises that actors must agree upon the rules and frame within which they are interacting, he inscribes the analysis of frames in a socio-material ecology. Material or textual boundaries are inseparable from the social and cultural conventions confirming them, and indeed the whole framing process would not be possible without them. This is because material, textual and technological devices are not just framing resources, but act also as intermediaries enabling this bidirectional dynamic of framing and overflowing. They are themselves embedded in complex socio-technical networks and open up the frame to unexpected connections. Thinking in terms of tourist practices, devices like guidebooks, tourist maps or bus-tours do help to frame situations. They also open up connections to multiple overflows, which again provide for variation within the tourist frame. In this manner, Callon provides crucial insights for the empirical analysis of tourist practices in urban spaces as a dynamic process of framing and overflowing anchored on a complex socio-material ecology.

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These considerations have set the research agenda that I pursue in chapter 6 by means of an empirical analysis of communicative dynamics of framing and overflowing based on ethnographic research into different kinds of city-tours.

7. Tourist Frames: Technologies, Capacities and Identities

The thesis presented in the previous chapter suggests that tourist situations are sustained by sociotechnical frames. In this chapter these ideas are developed further on the basis of ethnographic materials from different types of guided tours. It could be argued that guided tours are not a good example of the process of framing, because they correspond to standardized situations, being over controlled and detached from everyday life. I shall make the opposite argument. The standardization of guided-tours means that multiple sociotechnical elements have been arranged in complex ways, in order to hold the frame together. Therefore, if one is able to recognize the embeddedness of guided-tours in the urban everyday in these highly standardized contexts, it then follows that similar framing/ overflowing dynamics apply to other tourist situations.

In this chapter I describe diverse case-studies and analyze how different aspects of the framing process lead to the reproduction of tourist communication. I start by comparing two radically different socio-technical arrangements producing sightseeing bus-tours (1). I then focus on emergent phenomena, consequences and effects of the enactment of a tourist frame, which reveal some characteristics of Berlin's tourism. I look at how guided-tours enable the touring of invisible landscapes (2) and, also, how English- and German-speaking guided-tours of the Wall produce different frames of meaning and prescribe touring identities to the partaking individuals (3). In the final section, I argue that these sociotechnical frames enable the enactment and reproduction of tourist communication and are thereby coupled to a societal structure of tourist communication that transcends the situational order (4).

7.1. Touring Technologies

Sightseeing bus-tours are hybrid machines. A large set of heterogeneous elements –such as pathways, tourists, tour guides, double-decker buses, stories, anecdotes, jokes, headphones, drivers, video cameras, images, photos, TV screens, audio recordings, pedestrian and transit regulations, and urban rhythms- must be organized in specific ways in order to produce a sightseeing bus-tour. However, and this is crucial, there is no one unique form of organizing these elements nor should all these elements be simultaneously present in all bus-tours.

A bus tour is defined by the organization of its elements, not its structure. The distinction introduced by the Humberto Maturana and Francisco Varela (1973) between the *mode* of assembling elements together (organization) and sets of *concrete relations* among elements (structure) of complex units is adopted here. We can take the example of a clock: while organizational changes would entail transforming the clock into something different (a bomb-clock or a piece of junk), the structure of clocks varies from model to model. Similarly bus-tours share a common mode of organization, which if changed would transform the bus-tour into something different (a 'walking/tour' or a public bus route), but not a structure, which varies more than people would expect. In this sense, bus-tours can be understood as fluid technologies that holds their shape in a fluid manner (de Laet and Mol, 2000), achieving homeomorphism by constantly changing its concrete parts and relations (Law, 2002b).

The *organization* of sightseeing bus-tours can be analyzed in terms of four basic arrangements that have to be made. The first of these can be termed a 'spatial arrangement'. This involves the production of destination space by means of some basic operations including the structured improvisation of routes, the introduction of spatial distinctions and the distribution of objects in space. Secondly, bus-tours need to produce a particular 'visual arrangement' of the destination, which involves enacting a moving glance. Thirdly, I shall distinguish a 'narrative arrangement' of the destination, which functions as a source of themes and topics available for the reproduction of tourist communication. Fourthly, bus-tours entail particular 'performative arrangements', in the sense that they organize the performance of certain tourist roles, such as the tourist and the tour guide, that are conditions for framing tourist communication. The earlier descriptions of 'the art of timing', 'cruise-ship navigation' and 'trailer spectatorship' (Ch. 4) demonstrate these organizing principles, disclosing the complex effects of the intertwined operation of these arrangements and their role in the production and maintenance of a tourist frame.

In this section I complement these analyses by focusing on some *structures* or, rather, the variable technologies of bus-tours. Rather than investigating the organizational identity of bus-tours, I aim here to show the variety and fluidity of technologies in*form*ing bus-tours. It is clear that bus-tours rely intensively on technologies. The double-decker bus, for example, the most obvious technology at play, does not just enable a particular spatial arrangement, but is also a constituent of its unique visual arrangement. Similarly, microphones, speakers and headphones with audio-recorded material are other technologies involved in the production of

a narrative arrangement. However, the technologies of bus-tours should not be understood only in the sense of technical devices, but more comprehensively as those heterogeneous arrangements producing and maintaining the framing of bus-tours. This is precisely the sense in which I look at the technologies of bus-tours in this section, as sociotechnical arrangements that enable the enactment of tourist situations.

In this section I focus on two extreme forms of bus-tours: the so-called 'Videobustour' and the public transport bus route 100. Given their very unique sociotechnical arrangements, these buses are particularly illustrative of the variety and fluidity of technological structures of bus-tours. Even though both exhibit singular ecologies calling for more comprehensive ethnographies, they are used here in a more analytical way to discuss particular aspects of the dynamics of framing/overflowing tourist situations.

7.1.1. Hermetic frames and blind spots: the Videobustour

One of the first pieces of advice given to me by my advisor was not to miss Arne Krasting's presentation at our Institute on his new invention, the Videbustour (VBT). Arne is a historian and romanicist from Hamburg, who in 2001, just one year after settling in Berlin, co-founded the agency *Zeit-Reisen. Erlebnisagentur* [Time-Travel. Agency of Experience]. Its main aim is to bring together a historical approach to Berlin and tourism. In 2004, he launched the VBT, his most personal project within the company, and since then he has been dedicated to developing what he argues to be not only a new format of tour, but also a new format of historical narration.

What is the so-called VBT? Arne explained to me in the last long conversation we had in October 2005 that one of the major difficulties they have been facing is that people cannot easily imagine what the VBT is about. A small survey carried out on the main avenues of Berlin asking passers-by what they imagine the VBT to be, showed that the name was far from being self-evident. The answers they received included 'multimedia city-tour', 'virtual bus-tour', 'video show in a parking bus', 'a video where you see a bus going through the city', among others. Arne told me that it is not unusual for people try to find out what the VBT is about only as they are booking it over the phone. The VBT is in fact a private single-decker bus, not a public bus, not a double-decker, equipped with monitors and speakers for playing large amounts of videos, animations, photos, images, graphics and audio recordings relating to the urban sites and attractions visited during the tour. The VBT's specialty is the

provision of thematic tours on topics such as the history of the Wall, the Golden Years, Hitler´s Berlin, urban planning in Berlin, 1945 or the End of the War. In 2005 Arne also launched a series of VBT focusing on different decades of the 20th century Berlin history.

During recent years the VBT has attracted some media attention and, indeed, almost all main German newspapers have written positively about it. Feedback from customers has similarly been quite positive, remarkably from Berlin residents, who represent approximately two thirds of the passengers. However, in terms of the public the VBT is far from being a hit. Whenever I did participant observation in 2005, the tour group was never larger than 20 persons. For Arne, low numbers are a problem of limited advertising and the consequence of the fact that his company cannot compete with the high investments made by other sightseeing bus-tours operating in Berlin. He particularly regrets not reaching young people, whom he believes can react much faster to the multiple inputs and different media of the VBT. Despite this, the VBT has been on the streets now for almost four years and it has been particularly well received by groups, such as firms, foundations, school classes, that privately book the VBT. On the basis of these good results and experiences, 2007 marked the beginning of a new phase when this tour format was exported to Arne's hometown, Hamburg.

The VBT is a very extreme case of a hermetic tourist frame built upon very tight sociotechnical arrangements and is therefore rather unlikely to embody the prototype of a new coming form of tourism. Indeed, the first striking element of the VBT is its very unique *spatial arrangements*. The elaboration of particular routes is a central aspect as the VBT specializes in thematic tours. In the case of the 'Berlin Divided City' tour, for example, the VBT goes north to reach the Wall Memorial in Bernauerstraße, east to reach the East Side Gallery and crosses right through Kreuzberg to visit the Springel building, places which are usually not visited by standard sightseeing bus-tours.

Creating a route is one of the most challenging and fascinating processes in the elaboration of a new tour as Arne explained. For tours on particular periods in Berlin's history, he begins by finding out which buildings were built. He would identify which sites saw important historical events taking place. He then selects stories, places and motives that people for very different reasons associate to these periods. He would simultaneously, research the archives looking for audiovisual materials to tell these stories. The points that the

tour cannot bypass would then be indicated on a city plan and thus, slowly, occurs what he termed ‘a process of the route’.

What is particularly striking about some of the VBT, such as the history of the Wall tour, is that the route is chronologically structured, as though history would be chronologically distributed over urban space. This means that after getting on the bus, the tour jumps back in history and space to the period preceding 1961, the year that the Wall was built. As the bus moves through the city, tourists see how the Wall was constructed, modified, amplified and other relevant sites including the place where the first victim of the Wall was killed. The tour is structured in order to witness chronologically all the main historical events until the fall of the Wall. After the VBT passes the *Palast der Republik* where German reunification was signed by the RDA parliament, it goes to its terminus, close to the Brandenburg Gate, the main symbol of the German reunification, where people can get off in a new reunified Germany.

Such historical narrative is closely intertwined with a second spatial arrangement. On the VBT on the history of the Wall, as in all others, the number of places mentioned is significantly lower than on standard sightseeing bus-tours. While in the latter tour guides point to, name and refer to approximately 80 sites, in the VBT the history of the Wall is told by means of no more than 35 places. The VBT functions as a highly selective device, filtering out places and sites that do not fit into its chronological narration. When I asked whether this ‘blinding out’ involved much work, Arne explained that people were seldom interested in or asking about buildings or sites not thematically connected with the tour. In his view, passengers, especially Berliners, are more interested in the new perspective on the city and the experience of historical atmospheres enabled by the VBT than in the contemporary city. Correspondingly, Arne would make only very few references to current uses and functions of buildings and sites.

However, instead of explaining this in terms of an intersubjective agreement between tour guide and tourists about what the tour is about, I would argue that this blinding out of the urban environment is enabled by yet another technology producing a very particular *visual arrangement*. Standard bus-tours use open-roof double-decker buses and function on the premise that tourists sit on the upper deck. The so-enabled peripheral perspective upon the city constitutes one of the central goods that tourists pay for, when buying a ticket for

standard sightseeing bus-tours. The VBT, however, does not use double-decker buses. Its visual arrangement relies on a mixture of monitors and normal side windows, which allow a constrained visual interface with the city. In this context, touring with the VBT is mainly structured as a combination of two main modes of visual engagement: places are seen through the side-windows (as the VBT stops some seconds in front of them or passes by slowly) and places are shown on the monitors (primarily as the VBT goes from one place to the next). Such an arrangement produces very particular visual dynamics that are unique to the VBT:

> "You look at the Reichstag and all of a sudden the building disappears under the silvery skin of the wrapping artist Christo. You stand in Alexanderplatz and see how the landscape of skyscrapers grows" (Berliner Morgenpost, 01.02.2005, transl. IF).[i]

As these journalistic reports highlight, the 'real' attractions are in the interface between attractions and monitors. Indeed, the most characteristic moment of the VBT sightseeing experience occurs, right after gazing upon a sight, when at least five different types of videos are shown. Some films show what stood before and people cannot see anymore. Other films show buildings that still exist and relate them to historical events or small stories that took place there. A third kind of film makes it possible to get inside the buildings, showing the different rooms of the currently being unbuilt *Palast der Republik* or the recently built Nordic embassies. Excerpts of movies filmed at places passed by the tour are also shown. Last, but not least, graphics, maps, animations, 3D images are also presented.

> "Arne explained that the idea is always to keep a tension between the place and the films, so that people can look at both, compare past and present and understand the city and its history. Otherwise, he said, the films could be shown anywhere. He then said that the VBT is based on finding the right mixture between media and reality." (Fieldnotes, October 12, 2005)

The videos and images showed on the VBT perform a very important task, namely, the elimination of the space between sites and places. Sightseeing with the VBT becomes a very extreme form of sightseeing, in which the city is not just reduced to a collection of sights, but, more radically, it is stripped of the ambiguity and fluidity of urban spaces. Under the premise 'one place, many films' the VBT renders the urban environment into a radically ductile material for tourist narrations. Such transformation of the city allows very extreme treatments, such as the chronological ordering of the urban environment. Moreover, places are not inhabited, but framed through side-windows and monitors. Rather than being embedded in the urban context, the sightseeing experience enabled by the VBT is thus radically self-referential and enclosed. The air-conditioned bus, and not the city, constitutes the medium in which

practices of sightseeing are embedded. Indeed, stopping at particular places, getting off the bus and inhabiting the city are treated mainly as interruptions, not as intensifications, of the tour:

> "We get off in the Checkpoint Charlie to see the polemical private Memorial of the Wall constructed by Mrs. Hildebrandt[1]. After some brief comments, Arne invites us to come back to the bus: 'in order to understand this place'" (Fieldnotes, March 26, .2005).

The idea that the city can be better understood –or even experienced- in the bus than *in situ* overtly contradicts the basic logic of most forms of touring and it makes evident the uniqueness of the frame enacted by the VBT. Indeed, a rather constrained visual and embodied experience of the city is crucial to support VBT's *narrative arrangements*, which are based on the claim that the VBT discloses historical backstages and reconstitutes authentic historical atmospheres that couldn't otherwise be seen or felt. Arne explained that they have different maxims for the VBT, such as 'we show what you otherwise couldn't see' or 'we see not only what we can see from the bus, but we see more, we make the history of the city visible'. At the same time, even though the VBT is 'really about history', about making multiple city pasts visible, 'boring' academic narratives are explicitly avoided. Arne sees the VBT as a form of making people curious about the city and its history rather than teaching people. Thus, while side-windows, monitors and short stops are necessary for detaching people from the city and thus making history visible, images and films are expected to perform a contrasting operation, namely, making people curious and re-attaching them to the city.

The VBT frame functions for most of the time as an all-encompassing translation mechanism detaching tourists, filtering overflowings, re-organizing the relationship between urban space and city history and prescribing performances. However, the VBT does not simply contain individuals in a hermetic frame. As discussed in Chapter 5, framing is a process enabled by constant overflowings, sources of indeterminacy and transformation. While complex sociotechnical arrangements have been inscribed in the VBT to diminish overflowings, there are still innumerable interstices which need to be acknowledged and accounted for. The first and most obvious source of overflowings can be located at the few stops when tourists get off the bus.

[1] On the polemics surrounding the private Memorial, see Chapter 8.

> "We get off at the Günter Litfin Memorial [the first victim of the Wall] and by chance we meet the brother of Günter Liftin, the promoter of the memorial […] The old man speaks for at least 10 minutes to the group about the lack of support from the city government and suggests that Berlin is not taking charge of its history. On our way back to the bus, Arne tells me that he let him talk to avoid an uncomfortable situation. Once in the bus, Arne says to the group, 'well, as the saying of German historians goes, there is no worse enemy for history than the witnesses' and starts to explain 'objectively' the efforts of Berlin Senate." (Fieldnotes, March 26, 2005)

As this situation shows, a casual encounter can have disruptive effects. Narrative elements suddenly no longer fit together and the possibility of an interpretive conflict is foreseen. At the same time, however, such unexpected encounters open up the frame for new connections, new stories and new memories.

Within the 'protected' environment of the bus, overflowings are also common. The sociotechnical arrangements I have described, have indeed a blind spot, which although it is a condition for the well-functioning of the VBT, it remains an uncontrollable and unpredictable variable. This is what I would call the *performative arrangement*s, i.e. the set of performances that humans need to enact in order to hold together the tour frame. It might seem that the VBT tourists would just need to sit there and let themselves be detached from the city, guided through historical ambiances and re-attached to the city. But this is not the case. The whole process requires tourists to be very active and dynamic. This is precisely what Arne is saying when he regrets not reaching a younger public more interested and more used to multi–media. Even though at the front of the bus he has no access to the small conversations among the tourists during the tour, he probably has the sense that the following situations are not unusual.

> "The bus stops in the Chaussestrasse for two or three seconds. Arne, our guide, mentions an important tower. The woman sitting in the row in front of me looking through the window asks her companion about the location of the tower. He answers rapidly, 'No! On the video! It does not exist anymore'" (Field notes, March 26, 2005).

Indeed, the VBT poses a challenge for tourists, who have to discriminate, switch and make connections between the films shown on the monitors, and the urban environment, beyond the windows. In that context, it doesn't matter how tight spatial, visual and narrative arrangements might be assembled if the corresponding tourists' capacities are not performed.

This example shows that rather than defining a space of tourism as opposed to the space of the city, tour frames constitute boundaries regulating the flows between the two sides. As such, frames are very vulnerable fragile technologies. In some cases, complex sociotechnical arrangements are predispossed to strengthen and reinforce them. However, large and incontrollable arrays of factors, such as casual encounters, performative arrangements, traffic jams, technical problems with the videos, off-tour sights or events that people see through the windows, make the frame tremble, revealing how it hangs by a very thin thread.

7.1.2. The overflowed frame: the bus route 100

It is difficult to think of a tour frame more radically different from the one described above than the one being enacted in the Berliner bus route 100. The bus route 100 was the first line that connected the two halves of the city after the fall of the Berlin Wall. During the 1990s, as tourism in Berlin started to increase, it became a 'public secret' among tourists, because its route passed the major tourist attractions, such as Alexanderplatz, Museum Island, Unter den Linden, the State Opera, Brandenburg Gate, the Reichstag, Schloss Bellevue, Tiergarten, the residence of Germany's president, the Friedrich Wilhelm Memorial Church and many other sights. The bus 100 even passed through the Brandenburg Gate until 2003 when it was closed to traffic. In 2000 Berlin's society for public transport, the BVG, opened a second line, the bus 200, which takes a slightly different route and covers another important touristic area which includes Friedrichstrasse, Gendarmenmarkt and Potsdamer Platz.

Taken together the buses 100 and 200 constitute one of the most important means of transport for touring the city. On-line travelogues and guidebooks give some very good reasons for this being so:

> "Berlin, nine times the size of Paris, is best explored on foot with the aid of the city's excellent public transportation system. Of particular use to first-time visitors is bus line 100, a double-decker bus that passes by the major sights while connecting the two centers of this formerly divided city".[2]

> "The best way to see the whole of Berlin very quickly is to spend an hour or so on a No 100 bus, which passes by all the main sights […] It is one of the quickest and most cost effective ways of touring Berlin and one ticket allows you to get on and off as often as you like within the two hours permitted".[3]

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[2] See http://germany-travel.suite101.com/article.cfm/berlin_selfguided_tour_on_bus_100. Access: October 8, 2007.

[3] See www.a2zlanguages.com/Germany/Berlin/berlin_bus100.htm Access: October 8, 2007.

As these quotations suggest, the buses 100 and 200 are used by tourists mainly in two ways. The first quotation recommends using these buses for reaching attractions and sights, which are to be explored by foot. The second quotation describes a radically different use of these buses. They are not recommended as a means of transport, but as an efficient and inexpensive means for touring the city. Rather than by foot, the city is here to be toured with these buses, going with one, coming back with the second, and just like with standard sightseeing tours getting off two or three times within two hours.

The cited descriptions of these buses do not compare them with sightseeing bus-tours but the Berliner Tourism Information agency does,

> "Public bus lines with the number 100 and 200 do pass many of the major tourist attractions between Zoological Garden and Alexanderplatz. Taking any of these buses is *almost comparable* with a short sight-seeing tour."[4]
>
> "A trip on bus 100 or 200 is tantamount to a city tour, taking passengers past the many sights between Zoologischer Garten and Alexanderplatz."[5]

Essentially, it is the spatial and visual arrangement of these buses that makes the comparison feasible. In fact buses 100 and 200 are both double-deckers. They are not open-roof double-deckers, a fact that renders the front seats into a very rare and disputed commodity, but they do offer the same visual angle as standard sightseeing bus-tours. Moreover, if it is cold or it rains, there is no difference, for standard sightseeing buses cover their top decks with rubber rooves drastically reducing their privileged visibility conditions. In any case, buses 100 and 200 have become very popular among tourists, not only as a practical means of transportation between attractions, but also, as an alternative to standard sightseeing bus-tours.

Touring Berlin on bus routes 100 and 200 provides a radically different touring experience, as the buses do not have tour guides who could supply the names and narratives necessary to glean the urban landscape. Indeed, most of the same on-line travelogues and guidebooks that recommend touring with these bus routes advise tourists not to forget to take some information with them. "It's a good idea to pick up a map and information leaflet from the information kiosk at the station."[6] On a webpage dedicated to bus 100, it is possible to find a so-called 'virtual ride', which consists of successive screens dedicated to each of the stops and includes a list of the main sights and some pictures. Interestingly, the site-builder

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[4] See http://www.berlin-tourist-information.de Access: June 15, 2006.

[5] See http://www.visitberlin.de. Access: November 17, 2007.

[6] See www.a2zlanguages.com/Germany/Berlin/berlin_bus100.htm. Access: October 8, 2007.

explains that in order to gather photographic material for the site he walked (!) the whole route from the Eastern part down to Zoo. Its aim, however, was to help passengers on their rides, for there are many "impressions that one in part discovers only the second time you see them."[7] As these examples show, passengers need previous information to capitalize on the spatial and visual attributes of the bus. The consequences of this lack of information and narratives in the bus are indeed clearly formulated above: tourists need to gather information before the ride and they cannot count on seeing everything on the first ride.

Passengers touring Berlin on buses 100 and 200 need then to actively produce the otherwise lacking narrative arrangements, a performance in which they engage by means of different strategies. For the vast majority of unprepared passengers, the most common source of narrative arrangements is the uneven collection of names and symbols that can be seen during a ride. Loudspeakers on the buses 100 and 200 and the display of bus-stops can become the primary sources of names. One example from my fieldwork shows how a nuclear family appropriate and use these names to glean the city.

> "They don't talk much and look through the window. The child repeats loudly the names of some bus stops, as they are announced over the loudspeakers […] The loudspeakers say '*Staatsoper'* and as the child asks, the mother looks for the *Staatsoper* to show it to her son, paying less or no attention to other buildings and monuments in the same spot" (Fieldnotes, May 5, 2006).

Another fund of names are the urban signals and traffic indications that can be seen from the bus. Again streets names or signposts indicating directions are used by tourists to glean and communicate the destination and its attractions. One of many situations I observed involved a group of 5 youngsters.

> "Just passing *Großer Stern* there is a traffic sign indicating the way to Kreuzberg. As one of the youngsters sees it, he remembers having talked about Kreuzberg and asks the others what they want to do in Kreuzberg and why did they want to go there" (Fieldnotes, May 31, 2006).

Such situations are very common throughout, not just among families with enthusiastic children reading aloud the names of the bus stops and engaged youngsters exploring the big metropolis. Indeed, most tourists on buses 100 and 200 take these names to indicate the main features of the urban landscape that they ought to look for and gaze at.

In a way, tourists are perfectly aware of the symbolic quality of such names. Marc Augé argues that subway station names, constitute a central symbolic geography of the city:

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[7] See http://home.snafu.de/danielp/daniel/100/about.html. Access: October 8, 2007.

"These names are often connected to those of the city's surface which, most of the time, constitute a direct or indirect reference to historical facts"[8]. However, the symbolic geography in the names of metro stations can only be evoked by the metro rider, if at all, in a very abstract way, and is often associated with personal memories. Tourists on buses 100 and 200 take such names in a very different way, namely, as direct indicators of a collective and objective symbolic geography.

Another important source of narratives are city residents, who sometimes join tourists on buses 100 and 200. They provide tourists with rich narratives and personal insights on the sites and places visited on the bus in a much more expressive way than bus-stop names and traffic signs.

> "We are approaching the Reichstag and what started as a very lively bus ride, feels now a quite normal bus ride with people sitting, looking outside, but not talking too much. As we stop at the Reichstag people don't get off. They don't pay much attention to the Reichstag or to the tourists in front of it either. The only ones who talk all the time are two men in their sixties, sitting on corridor seats, mostly looking at each other and pointing now and then to some sites in the city. One of them gives the facts and tells anecdotes about the sights we pass, while the other indicates that he understands" (Fiednotes, May 5, 2006).

As these notes suggest, local friends tend to be more durable and consistent sources of information. After most tourists have given up gleaning the city, friends continue to provide their visitors with stories, anecdotes and information.

> "The man, who seems to be the son of the old English lady, spends all the time pointing, naming and explaining the use and function of the buildings we pass. He seems particularly interested in showing the city where, I guess, he lives. The old lady doesn't ask much and basically follows the instructions of the man about where to look. She seems not to know much about Berlin. It is probably her first time, since she doesn't seems to recognize anything during the trip. She is just listening, without much control of the situation and without really being able to say much" (Fieldnotes, May 18, 2006).

From observing the dynamics of tourist groups on these buses, it is possible to recognize recurrent distributions of roles and sets of practices, which like spatial or narrative arrangements contribute to the production of a tourist frame. These performative arrangements can be described by looking at the positions and the way of engaging with the urban environment assumed by each member of the group.

> "I realize that in this group there is a certain division of work which prevails for the whole bus ride. The boy in the left window seat at the front of the bus is very

[8] Cited by www.spaceandculture.org/2005/09/subways.php. Access: November 2, 2007.

> active, taking pictures, pointing to buildings and other attractive elements of the urban environment, talking to the group, proposing activities, etc. The boy sitting next to him and the girl in the corridor sit talking to each other most of the time. The two girls in the right window seats lay back, look through the window as the city passes by, and engage in other activities. However, they listen to what their friends say and they look when the first boy points to something, but they are not very active" (Fieldnotes, May 31, 2006).

This example and others above show that the distribution of tasks reflects the definition of two main positions: that of tour-guide and of tourist. This can be observed particularly among nuclear families, for whom having a child enables more active forms of touring. Showing, naming and explaining the destination and its attractions, even if this requires improvising about certain issues, makes much more sense with children, who have only a limited access to names and facts.

Sightseeing on these buses can be very costly. While tickets are cheap, tourists need a lively son or a very good friend to join them and help them with names and narratives. Otherwise tourists need to make very costly investments of a cognitive, visual, and narrative nature. They are required to actively glean the urban space and elaborate narratives about what they see. Some tourists try with maps and guidebooks, but they prove to be very difficult to use on the bus and after some minutes they give up. Indeed, the conclusion of my participant observation on these buses is that passengers engage in sightseeing-activities only for brief moments. There seems to be a general temporal pattern to the framing process that applies to most of the groups and individuals I observed on their excursions between Alexanderplatz and the Zoo. Tourists get on one of these buses and run to get the best seats at the front. During the first 5 to 10 minutes they engage very actively in pointing to places, naming them, and commenting what they know about them. After this, the focus of attention seems to move and it is clear that maintaining this frame has become too costly. For some it is time to make economic investments:

> "As we see a standard sightseeing bus-tour coming in the other direction, the woman sitting close to me tells her partner that tickets cost about 15 Euro and that they should "rather" [*lieber*] take one". (Fieldnotes, May 7, 2006).

One of the main activities tourists do while riding buses 100 and 200 is to silently lie back in their seats and contemplate as the city passes by. Rather than a collection of sights, as in the case of standard sightseeing bus-tours, the city emerges here as a continuous landscape and thereby as a whole without parts. Deleuzian philosophers would describe the city as a 'Body without Organs' (BwO), a concept that when translated into a spatial dimension has

been often associated with the idea of a placeless space (Buchanan, 2006). Some caution is necessary here, for the idea of the BwO does not simply imply radical dedifferentiation or, better, violent destratification ('empty' BwO) (Albertsen and Diken, 2006). The 'full' BwO is "what remains when you take everything away" (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987: 150) and constitutes a plane of immanence on which, as Brian Massumi (1992) explains, a return to fractality, hyperdifferentiation, and individuation is possible.

In a sense, this is precisely what the destination becomes when experienced lying back in one of these buses. The city is taken away from its attractions: organic and stratified entities of tourism. However, what remains is the opposite of a placeless space or 'non-place' (Augé, 1995). The destination, stripped of its organs, becomes a plane of intensity; a plane on which urban elements emerge as intensive singularities, breaking with representation and expressing the complex relations and connections that make up the destination. Indeed, it is not uncommon to see tired and silent tourists looking through the windows that suddenly have some kind of revelation and start to comment to their partners or friends their general impressions of the city:

> "One of the youngster points to a Lacoste shop, says something I can't hear and then he points to some policemen standing there. In that moment one of the girls, who hasn't said a word in the last 5 minutes or paid much attention to the conversation of her friends, suddenly starts complaining about Berlin, expressing deception and scepticism. In her opinion, Berlin is not as great as it is supposed to be and the buildings are not very beautiful either. Her friends agree. We are approaching Brandenburg Gate and from the bus it is possible to see a big football globe in front of it. She continues making her case by pointing to this football globe and arguing that with the World Cup everything is even worse. After some moments of silence, as we turn left into the Dorotheenstraße, the other boy tries to counterbalance things by pointing to a corner building, which in his opinion is great" (Fieldnotes, May 31, 2006).

In these contexts, the tourist frame being enacted is very porous. Indeed, rather than constituting a rigid boundary allowing only very particular aspects and sights of the city (as in standard bus-tours or in the extreme case of the VBT), touring with the 100 and 200 is enabled by an elastic frame that allows multiple flows between the outside and the inside. Overflows are the rule here and they are crucial, for they allow this very unique framing oriented to grasp the destination as a whole without parts, BwO, plane of immanence. Moreover, the frame enacted is so abstract that tourists are sometimes even prompted to reflect on their experiences of tourism and travel at large:

"A small bus with a license plate from Hamburg is pointed at by the young boy

> sitting at the window, who comments how much he likes Hamburg and says that he would like to go now to Hamburg. […] The conversation rapidly moves to tourist destinations, and then one of them mentions Paris. They all comment how little French they know and joke about how difficult would be to get a bottle of water […] One of the girls, I think, says that she would like to learn Spanish. They all agree that it is easier to learn languages, when you live in the foreign country where the language is spoken" (Fieldnotes, May 31, 2006).

Such conversations on issues not related to the visited destination are also constitutive parts of the practices of touring the city. Indeed, the tourist frame enacted in such situations embraces more than just sightseeing practices and offers rather, a general background against which it makes perfect sense to talk about touring Paris while touring Berlin. This shows that while tourist frames are sociotechnical arrangements, they offer an abstract basis for the unfolding of certain types of communication and for the enactment of very particular capacities.

7.2. Touring Capacities

While the previous section explored the sociotechnical arrangements that make up and hold together guided-tour frames, this section analyses one particular phenomenon enabled by such frames, namely, the capacity to tour invisible landscapes. This capacity is crucial for guided-tours of Berlin as a result of the successive waves of urban destruction that have shaped Berlin's landscape (Oswalt, 2000). To see and tour what it is not to be seen or toured requires intensive work on the part of tour guides and tourists, involving the mobilisation of all elements of the frame, not just visual arrangements[9].

In this section, I focus on one of the few tour-companies in Berlin exclusively dedicated to the enacting of the capacity of touring of invisible landscapes. *Berliner Betrachtungen* [Berlin Contemplations] is the suggestive name of this one-man tour company founded in 2004 by Peter Eichhorn, a young, passionate, creative German historian and since 1999 Berlin tour guide. His start as a tour guide was accidental. His then boss at the Visitor

[9] It is necessary here to distinguish between the arrangements or properties of the tourist frame and the capacities enabled by it. Following Deleuze, while properties are given, concrete and actual, capacities are non-given and emergent, for "there is no way to tell in advance in what way a given entity may affect or be affected by innumerable other entities" (DeLanda 2006: 10).

Service section of Germany's Federal Press Office eventually realized that her staff knew much more about the city and its history than most of the tour guides they were constantly hiring and so let him and others colleagues guide the tours.

A less accidental matter is how Peter found this opportunity and what he has made of it. He had indeed "blindly" applied for a job, any job, at the Federal Press Office to experience, at close quarters, the process of the relocation of the German Federal Government to Berlin. So guiding offered a great opportunity to satisfy this very personal interest and to reconcile his varied interests in history, journalism, and public relations with an autonomous job. He explains that guiding involves spending weeks in libraries and archives reading dusty books and original documents, being out on the streets, exploring the city, meeting people, transmitting his fascination for the city, and even doing marketing for his own company. In 2005 he made the decision to work exclusively for *Berliner Betrachtungen*. He says that is was a good decision as even though it has not made him rich, it has made him one of the few guides in Berlin who can say 'I can make a living from it'.

The market strategy of *Berliner Betrachtungen* was from the beginning oriented to a very specific niche. Peter defines his target public as "not the tourists that visit Berlin for the first time. My offering is pitched rather at the Berliners who still explore their city and to advanced visitors" (Interview with Peter Eichhorn, May 16th, 2006). Peter has approached this market segment with a very varied offering of thematic tours:

> "There are a lot of people who can say 'That's the Reichstag' and then two or three phrases, but there are not so many of them who can talk for an hour about the Reichstag […] There are certainly lots of people who can in a superficial way convey a sense of Berlin […] I offer rather more specialist thematic tours - cemetery guided tours, criminal guided tours, guided tours in areas that tourists don't visit, like the Lietzensee. I offer 25 guided tours and for one person this is relatively uncommon" (Interview with Peter Eichhorn, May 16, 2006).[ii]

Peter observes that even though there are two or three companies offering thematic guided-tours since the end of the 1980's and beginnings of the 1990's, his company has proved very popular with the public, probably for it is a breath of fresh air in the market.

One of the central innovations of these tours is the topics. While most thematic-oriented guided tours usually focus on city personalities and their biographies, on literary urban landscapes and their creators or on particular neighbourhoods and their histories, *Berliner Betrachtungen* engages in a more direct way with the stories of the city, urban myths

and the urban culture. Some of the tour names might provide a sense of this: 'Metropolis of Crime – Hunting Gangsters in Berlin', 'Flaneur Boulevard Kurfürstendamm – Art, Commerce and Café Grössenwahn', 'From funny lives to world stage – Lietzensee and around', 'Armourers, Seaport and Mile of History – Spandau's 775 Years' or 'Adventure Alexanderplatz – History of a Centre of Utopia'.

Peter Eichhorn explained that there are four main sources for the continuous production of new tour ideas. Firstly, he cites his very specific customers, some of whom have taken between 20 and 30 walking/tours of Berlin, know the offering very well and are eager to collaborate, telling him what is lacking. Secondly, his own tours prompt reflexive observations. He starts to notice, for example, that he has to constantly explain the 1848 revolution or that nobody seems to know that the square of the 18th March, west of the Brandenburg Gate, was renamed after the 1848 revolution. The idea of preparing a tour of the failed German Revolutions emerges. A third source of ideas are historical archives or documents. He sometimes realizes that he has been giving false information as a result of new research into aspects of Berlin's history, and is obligated to actualize his tours. Lastly, he prepares tours for anniversaries of historical events or city jubilees, which he knows radio and newspapers will report on, such as the 225th birthday of the influential Berliner urban designer and architect Karl Schinkel or the celebration of the 150 years of the Victory Column.

One approach to explain the relative success of these tours would be to point to the three months approximately that Peter spends to prepare each tour, a period of time that embraces the process of elaboration of an attractive concept, archive and book research, the selection of citations and visual materials, and the preparation of the route with its stops and flow.

> "Even more work are the cemetery tours, where one needs to remember lots of biographical details. The 1848 tour, that was very difficult to prepare, because there you have a mixture of a chronological sequence that you have to maintain, in order that the customer, the hearer, is not confused, and then one needs to fix it as a route in urban space […] You don't have this with a neighbourhood tour. I simply stand here, we see this and it's about this, then we continue […] When you have a thematic guided tour, with a thread as a topic, you must concentrate much more in order to reconstruct the background story" (Interview with Peter Eichhorn, May 16, 2006).[iii]

The specific feature of Berlin as a city of tours should also be highlighted. Peter Eichhorn believes that it would be 'unthinkable' to do what he does in any other German city

or European city with the exception of London. The wide range of possibilities for unique tours on very specific topics, he explains, is a consequence of the city's size, history, diversity, capital character, division and reunification, and its former unification of multiple cities and villages in the 1920's. Apart from this, another key factor is that people visit Berlin on a more regular than other cities. Many of his customers visit the city at least twice a year and some of them have second homes in the city. All of which, he argues, explains why on a normal Saturday in April or May more than 60 tours are on offer.

The characteristics of these visitors cannot be extrapolated to the whole guided-tour market. Tour guides working in different niches would dispute this description but would agree that Berlin has special conditions determining the market for guided-tours. However, as the director of one of the largest English walking/tour companies suggested, the most crucial factor might be the invisibility of Berlin's 'remarkable, monstrous, intense and extraordinary' history. In many respects, he explained, people need a tour, for otherwise they will not be able to see any of the things that they only vaguely expect to see:

> "We find that surprisingly large numbers of people do take tours here, because unlike London or Paris you don't have a top three or top five things to do, like in those cities. You go and see Big Ben or you go and see a West End show. You see the Eiffel tower and then you see the Louvre, whereas in Berlin it is really a lot more intriguing, in the sense that people know that there are a lot of interesting things here, but they are not necessarily sure exactly what. Berlin has a kind of mystery element tour, because the old city no longer exists. There's only a few traces of the past, so I think there's a certain mystery element here that definitely adds to the attraction" (Interview with Francis Hartnett, May 3, 2006).

In line with these remarks, guided-tours in Berlin convey a sense of the destination on the basis of fragmentary traces, unreadable history and mysterious landscapes. In that context, the particularity of *Berliner Betrachtungen* is not just their very original thematic tours, but also the very unique way of framing the city that allows touring invisible landscapes. Based on my participant observation in three of these tours, two long informal conversations and one recorded interview with Peter Eichhorn, I analyze in detail how this occurs.

I begin with a general observation. When I carry out fieldwork on standard sightseeing bus-tours or on the Videobustour, I usually write 8 to 10 pages of very chaotic notes, which need reworking. On walking/tours, such as those of *Berliner Betrachtungen*, I write in the same amount of time approximately 15 quite well organized pages. The reason for this, very

obviously, is that on walking/tours I have time to work on my notes. This has very much to do with the slash I have introduced in the word 'walking/tours', which is to represent the boundary or frame separating both activities: walking and touring. On 'bus-tours', with a hyphen, or on the 'Videobustour', a tight assemblage of words even without a hyphen, move through space, gaze at the city, and experience touring a destination are completely enmeshed, enacting a fluid and continuous tourist frame. Walking/tours are structured around a gap or boundary regulating the relationship between the internal side of the frame, the touring, with the external part, the walking. Thus, while on bus-tours the rim of the frame separates the inside and the outside of the bus, walking/tours are obliged to cope internally with that rim. Thus, the particularity of the frame enabling the guided tours of *Berliner Betrachtungen* should be examined, particularly in the way breaks and transitions between walking and touring are effected.

Walking on walking/tours cannot be compared to drifting, navigating (Haldrup 2004) or cruising (Ch. 4). The tourist guide usually walks in front of the group, a bit faster than the rest and shows the others the route. Tourists walk at their own pace, do not follow exactly the route of the tourist guide, and stopping and lingering are permitted activities. These are of course the moments to organize notes and interact with tourists. In sharp contrast to the Videobustour, for example, walking/tours do not eliminate space between the places visited. On the contrary, they rely on the experience of crossing space as they go from one sight to the next. Walking corresponds to the style of crossing encompassing a certain direction, velocity and time. As they walk, individuals and small groups have the chance to cut out links with the rest of the group and, if the group is not too large, to even vanish for some moments into the anonymous flows of city life.

Indeed, the frontier between urban space and tourist sights on *Berliner Betrachtungen* walking/tours is experienced many times during a tour, since the guide carefully performs it every time a new visible or invisible sight is presented. The usual experience is that the tour guide, who walks silently in front of the group, suddenly stops at a given point and stands there looking silently at something, waiting for the group, but making no signs or indications. The places where he stops have been carefully selected. He explains:

> "[…] one has to stage the gaze. When I prepare a walking tour I must look at which place and which places to include in order to show something. I consider where I have a visual axis, a perspective, a sight of contrasts or where can I go and show people a hidden corner that they don't know" (Interview with Peter Eichhorn, May 16, 2006).[iv]

He waits quietly until the group slowly gathers around him and falls silent. He usually begins his interventions with remarkable phrases: 'Now we are standing outside Berlin', while we stand at the northern side of the Hackescher Markt Station, a lively shopping and restaurant area, centrally located and very popular among tourists. At the southern side of the same station he would say, 'From here we can look at the stock-market', while all what the group can see is how the grass has grown on a vacant site. A third example shows in more detail how these techniques of 'cueing' the beginning of the transformation process, as Goffman (1974) would have put it, create a unique atmosphere.

> "We are approaching the Marien Kirche [a 14th century church sited in a small park very close to the old city centre of Berlin, a few meters away from the TV Tower, the Marx-Engels-Forum, and just in front of the Rotes Rathaus]. Peter, our guide, is already waiting for us in front of the few steps that lead down to the main entrance of the church. As we gather, Peter explains that, just like any other living being, cities grow. He points to the church, which is one or two meters below the level of the park and announces: "So, when we go down these steps, we will be standing on the ground of the medieval Berlin". We remain silent, wait for three or four seconds and slowly go down the steps into medieval Berlin. The situation is a bit theatrical, but we have just heard that there are only two places like this in Berlin and nobody seems to be willing to disenchant such an experience" (Fieldnotes, April 19, 2005).

As these examples show, performances demarcating the boundary between walking and touring are central to highlight experiences of envisioning together in contrast to those of wandering alone.

It is not just the contrast between the inside and the outside sides of the frame what makes these walking/tours special. The way 'touring' is framed is also crucial. First, and more obviously, the topic of these tours functions as a central thread defining what touring is about and connecting all tour stops. In a very literal sense, these tours exemplify de Certeau's maxim that 'every story is a spatial story'. The tour is explicitly framed here as a spatial adventure by means of opening phrases such as 'Our objective today is to look for traces of medieval Berlin'. Secondly, stops lasting from two to ten minutes are embedded in narrative arrangements aimed to perform a transformation of the unreadable urban environment into a transparent one, a landscape where stories of the past can easily be gleaned. Some of these narrative arrangements include the reconstruction of historical contexts by describing historical characters, recalling anecdotes, clarifying the origins of urban myths and by giving statistical data, historical dates and technical information. Theatrical staging, found in performances marking the boundary between walking and touring, is also crucial for effecting this transformation of urban space.

> "People want to be surprised, especially when they are Berliners. Show them a building which they went by a thousand times and show them a detail that they had never seen before, then you are the director that surprises them. Surprise is the dramatic element that brings you the most, for they say 'ahhhh!!!' or 'ohhhh!!!', and they don't get bored and don't try to correct you in a 'I-know-better' way" [*besserwisserisch*]"(Interview with Peter Eichhorn, May 16, 2006).[v]

Touring with *Berliner Betrachtungen* is to a great extent about making vanished or unreadable historical atmospheres visible to tourists; a work that not only involves the quest for traces and interpretation of details brought in by the guide, but also intensive imagination by tourists.

The urban environment is carefully gazed at to identify traces, footprints and phantoms of the past of the city. There is indeed no alternative, explains Peter, for in Berlin about 80% of the historical city fabric has been destroyed. Rather than a collection of sights, the city emerges here as a collection of details and traces that recall historical layers.

> "You see a wall broken off in a backyard, where you can say 'here there was a house; what we see here is the hole produced by a bomb'. Sometimes there are traces of the past or an old torn down stone or the remains of a memorial; that's a wonderful piece of help for people to then imagine what's vanished" (Interview with Peter Eichhorn, May 16, 2006).[vi]

The tour performance consists of envisioning these historical layers using the few elements that can be found in the urban environment and producing, thereby, an experience of places as they were or at least as they could have been. The toured city becomes then a "city of details" (Reed, 2002), in which every detail stands for whole historical contexts. Peter Eichhorn speaks of 'phantom-tours' to describe those where 'one speaks about things that are not there anymore'. In phantom tours visual materials, such as pictures, maps, plans or images of paintings, play a central role. Peter explains that every tour-guide in Berlin needs to have always two or three images at hand, in order to facilitate things for tourists.

This is not the end of the story. As with the Videobustour the last decisive element sustaining the frame are the tourists, who in the case of *Berliner Betrachtungen* have to use their imagination. Peter gives the example of the Wilhelmstraße, where Hitler's Estate Chambers (*Reichskanzlei*) were located.

> "Two and half buildings are still there. It is very strange, but people are still fascinated. I stand with them, point to a Chinese restaurant called *Peking Ente* (Peking Duck) and say: 'There was the new *Reichskanzlei*, the long corridors in the direction of Hitler's office were there'. And they all stand and stare at this Chinese restaurant and *they got to see something* […] They stand in the

> Wilhelmstraße, surrounded by prefabricated buildings, and then they suddenly experience 'Man, right there, wow, I wouldn't have thought!'" (Interview with Peter Eichhorn, May 16th, 2006, emphasis IF).[vii]

Peter Eichhorn has the hypothesis that what they see there is influenced by what they see in films such as *Der Untergang* [Downfall. Oliver Hirschbiegel, 2004]. Irrespective of *what* they see, the crucial and intriguing issue is how they get to see *something*. I would argue that this capacity to tour and even see the invisible landscapes constitutes an emergent property of the enactment of particular tour frames. In that sense, it is not just the result of visual arrangements such as the ones implemented in the VBT, but involves the mobilization of the whole frame. An effect of that mobilization is that the capacity of touring invisibilities is only partially controlled from within the frame, for it depends very much on those who are subject of the transformation - the tourists.

7.3. Touring Identities

In her 'de-scription' of technological objects, Madelaine Akrich suggests that users are confronted with 'scripts' that embody the "innovator's belief about the relationship between an object and its surrounding actors." (1992: 208) Such scripts or 'worlds inscribed in the object' prescribe particular forms of use, tolerate some kinds of users and, in some cases, exclude others. If one expands the notion of technological objects, such as Akrich's photoelectric lighting kit, to sociotechnical arrangements, such as guided-tours, it is possible to think of tourists as inscribed-users.

Carlson (1992) has pointed out that the concept of script is narrow, for it only involves the social behaviours that inventors build into an object. Interestingly, he proposes understanding the relationship between technological objects and its surrounding actors in a broader way, focusing on how technological objects (and I expand this again to include sociotechnical arrangements) draw on larger cultural texts and values. Carlson borrows from Harry Collins and Trevor Pinch (1982) the concept of 'frames of meaning' to point to the sets of assumptions about who will use a technology and about the meanings that will be attributed to it. He argues that these are crucial in the process of creating technologies and in their circulation and success within a market. Such assumptions, argues Carlson, constitute frames that "directly link the inventor's unique artefact with larger social and cultural values."

(1992: 177) These reflections are particularly relevant in the case of guided-tours, for they oblige a consideration of the larger cultural texts and identity constructions involved in the construction of built-in tourists and groups of tourists.

Standard tourism research focuses on the needs, social backgrounds, motives, expectations, and interests of the persons touring destinations. Classifications of tourist groups by motives, beliefs and interests, analysis of tourists' strategies of travel planning, studies of tourists' mental images, ethnographies of tourists' practices and other issues concerning human beings on tour pervade most studies. The frame perspective proposed here offers a radically new perspective on the tourist. Rather than using personal and social identities to explain behaviour, choices or practices of persons on tour, it investigates touring identities as performative constructions or effects produced within a particular frame. This perspective is based on the insights of Akrich and Carlson, but more fundamentally, and this is my second argument, on an accurate reading of Goffman's microsociology.

DeLanda (2006) has argued that Goffman's work is about 'relations of exteriority', in the sense that the *persona* created in public encounters or the *statuses* within a situational frame constitute 'external signs of orientation and involvement', not internal attributes of the participating individuals. DeLanda follows Gilles Deleuze, who constantly proposed thinking about relations between different terms as external to their identities, so that relations might change without changing the terms.[10] This move is crucial, for it gives a major theoretical ground for thinking about the relations between inscribed users and larger cultural texts without attributing the resulting touring identities to the selves of the human beings who happen to participate in a guided-tour.

Thinking about tourists as inscribed users, new light can be shone on the way tour companies define their profiles to fit and produce a market niche and elaborate new tours to effectively attract tourists. Although consumers' opinions and responses might be eventually sought to evaluate the tours, the cases of the *Videobustour* and *Berliner Betrachtungen* show that are rather competitors, those who are (critically) observed to find new vectors of

[10] This principle of exteriority is also at the basis of the analysis of tourist orderings of city-identity (Ch. 2), where one of the focuses is posed on the inscribed tourists' identities in different orderings. Similarly, it applies as well to the discussion of virtual topologies (Ch. 3), where it was even pointed to the multitopological character of the objects included in tourist space.

divergence and increase levels of difference.[11] Thus, since the production of guided-tours is to a great extent based on comparison and transfer on the supply side, tour companies can be thought of as a network of intermediaries who organize the market and the products being sold (White, 2002). This reinforces the starting point proposed here that touring identities should be investigated as contained within the frames elaborated by tour companies rather than as internal attributes of tourists. Thus, even in the case that inscribed touring identities might correspond to the 'real' identities of tourists, the latter are not the ultimate base on which market niches, the elaboration of tours and guiding practices are built up.

The three analytical premises presented here, namely, that tourists are inscribed users, that inscription involves broader frames of meaning, and that such frames are the collective product of networks of producers, are deployed in my last case-study. This focuses on how tour guides orient their guiding practices using stereotypical constructions, based on nationality, age and other criteria. These constructions are inscribed in the guided-tours, prescribing tourists' expectations, knowledge horizons and evaluative positions. As many tour guides explained, tourists of different nationalities want to see different things, have different knowledge about the city and evaluate what they see in different ways. Even though tour guides gain a sense of the expectations, knowledge and values of a particular group through interaction with it, guided-tours are structured from the outset using prescribed scripts and built-in users. A clear example of this is to be found among English and German-speaking guided-tours on the history of the Berlin Wall, which present, perform and interpret the division of the city in significantly different ways.

One of my fieldwork experiences that best sums up the way German guided-tours treat the Wall occurred as we were approaching with a double-decker sightseeing bus the original piece of the Wall that is still standing in the Niederkirchnerstraße. This section of Wall is about 100 meters long and goes along this street, in place of the south pavement. Normally sightseeing bus-tours pass this spot very slowly. Meanwhile, tour guides give bits of information about the buildings, architects and events associated with the surrounding sites: the Topography of Terror where were once located the Gestapo headquarters, the Federal Ministry of Finances in the building constructed by Albert Speer for the Reich Aviation Ministry of Goering. If the guides have time, they usually point to the cars parked at this spot.

[11] But not necessarily! The similarity of routes among standard sightseeing bus-tours (Ch. 4) indicates that mutual observation among competitors can also lead to homogeneity.

Cars are highlighted, because they park with their rear wheels in old East Berlin and front wheels in former West Berlin.

On this one occasion, the tour guide asked the driver to park in front of the Martin Gropius Bau in such a way that the invisible course of the once-standing Wall matched the corridor of our bus, separating our party into two halves. Thus, he suggested, people sitting on the right side of the bus would be West Berliners, while those sitting on the left side would be East Berliners. Such situations may seem irrelevant, but actually they are central moments on a tour. They turn the experience of touring the Wall into a physical performance of the division of the German nation. For a few seconds, the bus is transformed into a metaphor of Germany and its division is embodied by the tourists themselves. The radicalism and contingency of the division is not just narrated or explained, but deeply felt, as soon as you realize that the person sitting across the corridor might have been radically separated from you. This situation documented on a sightseeing bus with a mostly German audience demonstrates one way of dealing with the Wall characteristic of German speaking guided-tours.

English speaking guided-tours treat the Wall quite differently, focusing on the political dimension of the Cold War rather than on the cultural drama of the division of the nation. This can be seen, for example, in the kind of experience and expertise that English speaking tour guides claim to have. A walking/tour company that I studied briefly, has two experts on divided Berlin, whose personal profiles are published on the corporate website as well as in some flyers and brochures. One of the experts is a Scot who "served behind the Iron Curtain in East Germany, performing covert intelligence gathering duties during the Cold War".[12] His military background, which also includes active service in Kuwait and Iraq, suggests an approach to divided Berlin based on first-hand experience and knowledge. The apprehension that tourists could have about the suitability of a former soldier as a guide are counteracted by a picture of him wearing full dress uniform that makes him look very comical. The other English speaking guide is a man in his forties, who is presented as a revolutionary leftist who has been politically active for many years, being a regular at London's Speakers' Corner. He is described as, "One of the only western participants in the [East German] revolution, publishing an illegal newspaper against the Stalinist regime. He was at the Brandenburg Gate

[12] See www.insidertours.com. Access: June 5, 2006.

on the day the Wall fell and his insider tour will leave you feeling as though you were there."[13] These two men have very different profiles and backgrounds, but also have much in common. They were both in East Berlin and East Germany during the Cold War doing active political work against the communist regime. Such profiles anticipate the kind of narration and interpretative positions taken when talking about the Wall and the division of Berlin during English language guided-tours. Narratives here are focused on the geo-political dimension of the Wall and Berlin. They are epic in nature with heroes working undercover or digging tunnels to escape and villains with grey clothes controlling a totalitarian and wicked system.

This contrasts with German tours who make little reference to the political system of the GDR. The GDR is of course a central topic, but the focus is on everyday life; on the small commonplace details of how those persons, sitting on the East side of the bus corridor, organized their lives. A tour guide explained these differences in the following terms:

> "[There are] Many from East Germany who discover things about the past of the West, but much more is discovered by citizens of the West about the past of the East [… This occurs, for example,] when I tell an old West German that when one applied for a Trabi in the GDR one had to wait 8 to 10 years. Therefore sometimes people bought used Trabis for the price of a new one plus 1000 Marks - something completely absurd for anyone who grew up in a free market! […]
>
> For the international visitor the political dimension is in fact more relevant. Checkpoint Charlie was a place where panzers stood when the Cold War threatened to become hot, at the time of the Ultimatum and the Cuban crisis. They know much more about that. These are the images that went around the world […] It doesn't matter whether they come from - Switzerland, England or America. Their way of questioning is different" (Interview with Peter Eichhorn, May 16, 2006).[viii]

English and German language guided-tours take different evaluative positions in relation to the Wall. There is another small example from my fieldwork demonstrating the positions that German tour guides try to maintain. At the end of one VBT on the history of the Wall I join the guide for lunch at a small restaurant in Unter den Linden. Two friends of his that took the tour also come. We talk about the tour, the public and about some false myths about the history of Berlin. One of his friends points out what he considers a great mistake committed by our guide. When talking about West Germany he used the acronym BRD, which is how West Germany was called in the GDR. He should have said *Bundesrepublik*

[13] See www.insidertours.com. Access: June 5, 2006.

Deutschland, the official name of West Germany, otherwise he would be seen to be taking sides. The guide didn't agree with this critique and responded with a battery of arguments justifying his action.

These types of discussions are, indeed, not unusual among German tour guides, who are seriously concerned with issues of objectivity and neutrality. Guides of English-speaking tours usually take a different position. A young New Yorker art history doctoral student, living in Berlin and working as tour guide for the above mentioned English walking/tour company, explained to me the importance of telling stories from a certain perspective:

> "Well, I think we have quite a lot of anecdotes as well and try to tell a story, try to give a perspective on the tour, because people want to hear your own interpretations of the tour. So they don't want to just hear facts, but they want to hear your ideas as well and they also want to know why you came here" (Interview, May 20, 2006).

Differences concerning evaluative positions, as well as those concerning the meaning attributed to the Wall, can be summarized in terms of identity constructions, specifically, in terms of the *us* and *them* distinction. Indeed, guided-tours in German and English do not simply reproduce inner and outer perspectives on Germany, with tours in German only about "us" and not about an Other or tours in English only about the German "Otherness" without any forms of implicit self-description. Both English and German speaking guided-tours work with the distinction between us and them. The question is then how and why this distinction is reconstructed in each kind of tour.

The 'how-question' has been answered with the last examples: in German-speaking guided-tours, the Wall functions as signifier of the division of the German nation (*us*), while Otherness is sought on the East side of the Wall, less in political history and more in details of everyday life. English-speaking guided-tours see the history of the Wall as part of European and world political history. They elaborate on the political opposition between the Allies and the Soviets and build thereby a quite different Other, reaching beyond Germany to the whole soviet bloc. In evaluative terms both tours differ in how they treat this division. While guided-tours in German develop a rhetoric of evaluative neutrality, guided-tours in English tend to play more openly with evaluative perspectives, not just assuming the impossibility of objectivity, but actively engaging in certain evaluative positions.

The 'why-question' is more problematic. The first set of answers that come to mind refers to the kind of tourists participating in the tours. Interpretive and evaluative differences

in the tours about divided Berlin could be explained as expressing 'real' differences in the social backgrounds, motives, expectations, interests, and even identities of visitors. Research from this perspective, optimally with large surveys, could, for example, arrive at the conclusion that retired German tourists have different knowledge horizons and evaluative positions than, say, young British tourists. The problem with such approaches is that in most cases the amount and quality of the knowledge produced is somehow insufficient. On the other hand, such classifications tend to reduce too much the complexity and subtleness of the differences between tourists, as though something like *the* retired West German tourist existed at all. Instead I put forward a different conception of the tourist as a performative construction and relational effect of frames of meaning inscribed in guided-tours. Key figures inscribing frames are tour guides, who make use of complex systems to classify tourists. They are mainly based on nationality and age, using which they ascribe interests, knowledge horizons and evaluative positions to different groups of tourists. In fact, tour guides need such categorizations, because tourists are like black-boxes as they are difficult to read and interpret and therefore to know what they expect or what they know. Thus, it should not follow from differences in English and German sightseeing tours that there are real differences among distinct groups of tourists. It seems more reasonable to maintain that that such tourist groups are rather an effect of particular frames of meaning inscribed in guided-tours.

7.4. Tourist Frames: Between Situational Dynamics and Societal Communication

The thesis that the enactment of tourism in noisy and multilayered urban environments is enabled by sociotechnical frames has been developed in three complementary ways. I distinguished between the organization and the structures of guided-tours, extrapolating a distinction described by the biologist Humberto Maturana,. This enabled the study of structural variation among different types of guided-tours without giving up the organization of the tour as a common basis for comparison. The Videobustour and Bus 100 showed that guided-tour frames can be understood as technologies made up of varying sociotechnical arrangements. The Deleuzian distinction between properties and capacities was the basis for examination of the emergent realities effected by such frames. The case study of *Berliner Betrachtungen* showed that the capacity of touring invisible landscapes, crucial for touring practices in Berlin, is a relational capacity resulting from the mobilisation of all sociotechnical arrangements. This capacity relies on the performances and practices of the individuals taking

the tour rather than just on visual arrangements. Three main arguments concerning frames of meaning (Akrich+Carlson), relations of exteriority (DeLanda) and networked markets (White) were also introduced to support the study of touring identities as another set of effects of guided-tour frames external to the individuals taking the tours. Indeed, the prescription of interests, knowledge horizons and evaluative positions to groups of tourists in English- and German-speaking guided-tours was understood to be a consequence of techniques of complexity reduction used by tour guides to hold the guided-tour frame together, rather than reflecting real differences in the tourists themselves.

To conclude it is necessary to consider one final issue, which concerns the relation between these locally situated guided-tour frames and their capacity to prompt and embrace a particular form of tourist communication. This, however, requires discussion of two central elements of Goffman's and Callon's frame analysis. I argue against Goffman that the distinction between a micro- and a macro-sociological order does not imply an insurmountable gap. Unlike Callon, I argue that the framing/overflowing dynamics should be fundamentally understood as communicative dynamics. These two steps are crucial to connect the ethnographic analysis of tourist frames presented above with the broader perspective on tourism developed in the next chapter.

I would argue that tourist frames cannot be understood as purely interactional phenomena, but rather as coupled operatively with forms of tourist communication, which are organized and reproduced at societal level. Indeed, one of the central assumptions underlying the work of Erving Goffman was a sharp distinction between the interactional order of society and the social structures of life. Frame analysis, argued Goffman, is about the organization of experience, not about the organization of society. He argued that the latter is a sociological problem that could be analyzed without any reference to frames, and he was certainly correct in his critique of a hierarchical separation of the interaction order and larger social structures, as though interaction would take place *in* a society that is greater than it (see Latour 1996). However, Goffman still thinks about these levels of reality as opposed to each other in such a fashion that sociology must make a choice. By choosing interaction, his theory cannot deal with levels of emergence.

As Luhmann (1981) has noted, the problem does not lie so much in the clear distinction between interaction and societal level, but in the way that the theory deals with

their interdependence and structural (in)compatibility. It can be argued that in very simple societies there is an almost complete intermeshing of interaction and societal levels[14] but in complex societies these two levels pull apart. In both cases, however, it holds that "[w]ithout every interaction there be no society and without society not even the experience of double contingency. The beginning and end of an interaction presupposes society" (Luhmann, 1997a: 817, transl. IF).[ix]

Luhmann (2007) points thus to a double influence of society on interaction. Society constitutes interactions, even when only as the continuum *against* which interactions are differentiated and constituted as situated episodes. As Latour (1996) emphasizes, interactions need to differentiate themselves from society, and become thus a 'residual category', for otherwise they would have to mobilize all social life with them. Apart from this, society is also constantly actualised in interactions: "A functionally differentiated society differentiates and specifies modes of interaction within function-systems and their organizations to an extent unimaginable previously" (Luhmann 1997a: 824, transl. IF).[x] Given the increasing diversity and flexibility of interactions, argues Luhmann, such an attempt to model situations upon societal systems has only limited success. His description however does open up the possibility of thinking of processes of framing and disentanglement of situations as coupled with forms of communication constituted at societal level. If Latour is correct, and interactions involve "a *framework* (which permits circumscription) and a *network* (which dislocates simultaneity, proximity and personality)" (Latour, 1996: 231), it is possible to point to function-systems as a crucial element of that network, which even though it "does not fully determine the further communicative process, […] it certainly does *'modalize'* it, i.e. its selection style is determined by a possibility now both recognized and kept available" (Luhmann 1981: 248).

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[14] An extreme example of this reduction of society to a total interaction is the case of baboon societies: „The sociology of simians, in this sense, becomes the limiting case of interactionism, since all the actors are copresent and engage in face to face actions whose dynamic depends continually on the reaction of others […] the question of social order doesn't seem to be able to be posed for simians other than in terms of the progressive composition of dyadic interactions, without any totalizing or structurating effects. Although there are complex interactions, it does not seem that one can say that they live 'in' a society, or that they develop a social structure" (Latour 1996: 229)

Such an understanding of the relationship between interactions and function-systems is based on a flat ontological perspective, which does not assume a pre-given hierarchical or scalar layering of the world. In this sense, function-systems are not assumed to be larger, more wide-reaching or more powerful than interactions, but as being constituted beside interactions. As André Kieserling (1999) points out, distinct from function-systems, interactions are not oriented to a particular code, such as legal/illegal or pay/not pay, but to the history, organisation and self-referentiality of the interaction itself. This does not imply however that interactions can orientate themselves to particular codes, "Operations that perform such a change from code to code (and even more from code to non-code or from non-code to code) are in interactions completely normal" (Kieserling, 1999: 81, transl. IF).[xi] This flexibility of interaction indicates, however, that they are not subsumed in a functionally-differentiated form of communication, but only temporarily attached or coupled to it.

To make sense of this possibility one should expand the applicability of the concept of coupling, developed in social systems theory for accounting for the coordination between multiple functional domains, to describe forms of coordination between different levels – functional domains, organizations, interactions. Thus, the enactment of the functionally-differentiated form of communication in the interaction can be understood as an "operative coupling" (Luhmann, 1997a: 788), by which both levels –situations and tourism- make available their complexities for the profit of the other system. Interactions get direct access to the complexity of codes and semantics of tourism communication, whilst the latter get direct access to the variation opened up by interactions. In this manner, tourist frames provide with actual situations for the reproduction of tourist communication.

Consequently, if the dynamics of framing and overflowing of tourist situations express the complex relationship between locally situated interactions and tourist communication constituted at societal level, then framing and overflowing should be understood as communicative dynamics. In his article 'Communication about law in interaction systems' (1981), Luhmann refers to thematization thresholds as crucial filters defining the conditions and circumstances in which a situation can become coupled with a particular functional domain. He gives the example of conflicts and their thematization as legal issues. The legalization of a conflict at interactional level occurs "by expressing the hitherto taken-for-granted in terms of explicit legal norms" (Luhmann 1981: 242). When that happens, the

situation is redefined in terms of the binary code articulating law –legal/illegal-, rendered into an objective legal issue and the capacities for conflict resolution externalized. Acting as boundaries that have to be crossed, these thematization thresholds "prevent the unhindered, thoroughgoing 'legal-izing' of all interaction systems and thus, so to speak, defend the interests of other functional areas or subsystems within society" (Luhmann 1981: 247). At the same time, these thresholds should not be too high, because an excessive inhibition of thematization of law could lead to a drying up of juridical communication. Finely tuned, thematization thresholds constitute a central device for filtering the number and type of everyday conflicts that become legal disputes.

Extrapolating Luhmann's insights to the case of tourism would require looking for thematization thresholds that entail "a decision about the status or location of the ongoing interaction within the total societal system" (Luhmann 1981: 246), turning it into a tourist situation. The sociotechnical arrangements described above facilitate the crossing of these thematization thresholds. Such suggestion does not contradict the notion of frames as virtual and sociotechnical boundaries, but it specifies only that these boundaries separate not just materials, objects and spaces, temporal episodes and sequences, social roles and individuals, but a type of communication. Frames of experience are essentially therefore frames of communication. Correspondingly, a parallel could be drawn between the transformation of conflicts into a legal issue and the transformation of leisure travel into tourism. Such a transformation, described also as keying, is mediated then by the thematization and visualization of the city as a tourist destination. In this manner, the beginning of tourist communication can also be understood as depending on such thresholds.

Two images of the primacy of thematization thresholds over physical travel are described by Alain de Botton at the beginning and at the end of his acclaimed book *The Travel of Art*. The book starts with the narration of the author's experiences of a trip to Barbados including a detailed account of the experience of being in transit. Not even landing in Barbados, taking a taxi to the hotel, checking in at the hotel or taking the lift to the hotel room alleviated the author's sensation of still not getting there. The anonymity of the transit places painted by Edward Hooper, in which Alain de Botton is trapped, prevents the beginning of the travel experience. Only the thematization, for example, of the airport of Barbados as part of the destination, a possibility with which de Botton did not concur, could have avoided such a long wait for the beginning of tourist communication. The book ends

with another image of the subordinated role of physical movement, as de Botton, inspired by Xavier de Maistre's *Expedition nocturne de ma chambre* (1825), a sequel to the *Voyage autour de ma chamber* (1794), decides to take a walk around his neighbourhood, thematizing its corners, buildings, streets as parts of a tourist destination.

The crossing of thematization thresholds has thus crucial consequences for the way situations are coupled with functional domains, such as law or tourism. Rather than implying a definitive modelling of situations upon such domains, the crossing of thematization thresholds marks the beginning of dynamics of framing and overflowing of situations. In Luhmann's example, once law is thematized "even where legal issues are not explicitly discussed, communication remains latently within the legal sphere, inasmuch as one, for example, keeps in mind questions of responsibility or proof" (Luhmann 1981: 248). This certainly holds true for the interface of tourist situations and tourist communication. Once the destination is thematized in any of the guided-tours described above, there is a pull towards a tourist framing of situations, which counteracts the banal overflows and totalizing entanglements as the example of bus 100 clearly shows. In the case of tourism, this latency might be even more lasting than in the case of communication about law, which Luhmann describes as a kind of alienation and pressure that participants seek to avoid:

> "If this is successful [to avoid it], the participants will perhaps venture one last time into the legal sphere and agree to agree a contract, with the hope of being done once and for all with communication about law" (1981: 252).

Studies of tourism tend to show exactly the opposite phenomenon with participants actively seeking and pushing for a crossing of the thematization threshold even before engaging in physical travel, and postponing the de-thematization of the destination and communicating about it even after physically leaving it and returning home. This modelling of interaction on tourist communication appears thus rather seductive and attractive.

8. Tourist Communication: Societal Structures and the Function of Tourism

The thesis that tourism constitutes a form of communication specializing in the transformation of leisure travel into a process of 'touring destinations' has been empirically unfolded throughout the previous chapters. The focus was firstly, on the emergence of the destination as a virtual object and, secondly, on the situational frames that enable touring practices. A central aspect of the latter analysis was that tourist situations are not just instantiations of tourism, but are constituted through 'operative couplings' with tourist communication. Thus, while the analysis of tourist frames involved describing phenomena on the interaction level, the study of tourist communication involves describing communicative structures operating at societal level. This chapter performs the latter task by presenting on a more general level, the insights gained from the study of local and Berlin-specific configurations of the communicative process of 'touring destinations'. This general reflection on the societal structures and function of tourism constitutes, however, just another link in a chain of associations producing both, tourist performances and scholarly analyses, and should not be read as a theoretical conclusion.

I discuss three central aspects mentioned in previous chapters. The first concerns the realm in which tourism communication occurs. I discuss this on the basis of my analysis of how destinations are assembled and distinguished (1). I also suggest that 'tourist attractions' constitute a symbolically generalized media of communication that enforces touring practices over vacationing (2). Another issue involves the ways in which tourist communication comprises of individuals (and non-human actors). My dissertation indeed suggests that the basic communicative duality structuring tourism is formed by the figures of the tourist and the tour guide, and not those of the tourist and the host, as has often been emphasized (3). Apart from reformulating at a more general level such findings from my fieldwork, I explore and discuss one central aspect of the proposed understanding of tourism as a form of functionally-differentiated communication – its societal function (4).

8.1. A World of Destinations

The idea that there is a specific realm in which tourism takes place does not imply the existence of a given ontological realm of people and places. The realm of tourism resembles rather a "medium" of loosely coupled elements which are open to a plurality of connections and relations (Luhmann, 1997a). Such connections and relations, which Luhmann calls forms, can be volatile or durable, but they do not consume the medium of communication.

For Luhmann the most deep-seated medium of communication is 'sense'. In any of its forms, he argues, communication is always a sense-making process. Tourist communication is not an exception to this and could be correspondingly understood as a process of sense-making of leisure travel. Such a definition is however not specific enough to define the realm or medium of operation of tourism. Luhmann (1997a) proposes using the concept of medium not only to understand communication in general, but also specific forms of communication. Thus, he describes 'money' as the medium of economic communication; a medium that allows the emergence of specific economic operations, namely, payments (Luhmann, 1988). The medium is thus closely connected with the *distinction directrice* articulating a specific form of communication modelled upon the distinction pay/not-pay. Correspondingly, identifying the medium of tourism is crucial to understand the realm of contingency in which 'touring' (and also 'vacationing') occur.

Since tourism is basically about leisure travel, it would be possible to think that its medium is connected with space: a medium of loosely coupled places to which travel is possible (cfr. Pott 2005). If that were the case, the most basic form of tourism would be travel: the selection of one particular possibility of travel from all others possible travels permitted by the medium. The problem with such an understanding is, in my view, manifold. Firstly, it assumes that space is a pre-given medium, external and prior to tourism, instead of investigating touristic space, as I did in chapters 3 and 4, as a virtual topology constituted through the operation of tourism. Secondly, the basic form allowed by that medium, a travel to a place, is too vague. It would be indeed impossible to distinguish between leisure and other forms of travel by just pointing to space. Thirdly, given that the medium would only comprise leisure travel, it is still impossible to disentangle tourist communication from other societal ambits constantly entangled with leisure travel. García Osorio (2000; 2005) confronted precisely this latter problem in her attempts to understand tourist communication. Her conclusion was that tourism cannot differentiate itself, since it takes place in an inter-systemic space (leisure travel), in which economic, artistic, educative, religious, and other

societal forms of communication converge. In my view, García Osorio fails to recognize that it is precisely this lack of specificity of leisure travel –not to mention the incompatibility of leisure and travel (see Introduction)- that triggers the emergence of a medium for tourism in the first place.

At this point I return to Luhmann's (2000) suggestive idea that we are in the presence of a medium, if, and only if, it is possible to recognize an arrangement produced for an observer. An artwork, argues Luhmann (2000), can be processed as an artwork, because it is made to be recognized as an artwork and distinguished from other artworks. The arrangement made for the observer permits the artwork to be acknowledged as an artwork, and makes it distinguishable from all other artworks. Following this line of thought, the basic forms processed and reproduced by tourist communication should be like artworks, i.e. arrangements that reveal themselves as already constituted for tourist observation and communication.

The most basic arrangements articulating tourist communication are indeed destinations: forms composed of complex orderings of sociotechnical elements (see Ch. 2). Destinations are certainly constituted on the basis of space and travel, but they are not subordinated to travel in or through space. Just like artworks, destinations are arrangements made for a particular observer (the tourist, the tour guide), who orientate their communication to one particular destination. What is left unselected is not a 'non-tourist world', but rather a horizon of destinations not yet selected. Thus, the medium of tourist communication emerges as a consequence of the transformation of the world into a horizon of destinations that can never be fully consumed and where further possibilities are always deferred.

The organization of tourism fairs and tourist guidebooks does corroborate the idea of tourism occurring in a world of destinations. Economic and managed-oriented analyses of tourism also suggest that destinations are the most basic good traded and managed in this industry (for an exhaustive overview see Papatheodorou, 2006). At an interaction level, communication on a destination might occur in tacit or implicit forms. While threads of communication are more likely to be about attractions, museums, hotels, restaurants, resorts, shopping, politics, customs, the virtual object to which all these elements refer is the destination (See Ch. 1). Indeed, this communicative orientation to multiple objects, through which the destination emerges, enables the world and its complexity to enter tourism, without

simultaneously undermining the medium of destinations as the realm in which tourism takes place.

These observations suggest that the crucial distinction is not between home and away, or as I discussed in Chapter 5 between everyday life and the extraordinary, but it is an already existing tourist distinction between the selected destination and the deferred rest. This implies that in the context of tourism home is transformed into a destination and, that comparisons of a particular destination with home are not comparisons between home and away, but between home and away *as* destinations. My central argument is thus that by orientating its communication to destinations, tourism gains autonomy from the ontological constraints of physical travel and leisure time and defines a societal medium for its self-referential unfolding. Destinations constitute the specific tourist realm of contingency where both touring and vacationing are possible. However, the motivation to engage in touring over vacationing practices is not fixed by the destination. This requires another central communicative structure of tourism.

8.2. The Attraction of Attractions

In his influential study of tourism, Dean MacCannell argued:

> "Sightseers do not, in any empirical sense, *see* San Francisco. They see Fisherman's Wharf, a cable car, the Golden Gate Bridge, Union Square, Coit Tower, the Presidio, City Lights Bookstore, Chinatown, and, perhaps, the Haight Ashbury or a nude go-go dancer in a North Beach-Barbary Coast club. As elements in a set called 'San Francisco', each of these items is a symbolic marker. Individually, each item is a sight requiring a marker of its own. There are, then, two frameworks which give meaning to these attractions" (MacCannell, 1999: 111-112).

The first of these frameworks is defined by the destination. For MacCannell, however, it is the second framework through which an object is transformed into a tourist attraction that is more central in tourism. This framework is based on the "empirical relationship between a *tourist*, a *sight* and a *marker* (a piece of information about the sight)" (1999: 41), which comes about in the act of sightseeing. He then goes even further to argue that "[t]ourist attractions and the behaviour surrounding are, I think, one of the most complex and orderly of the several universal codes that constitute modern society" (1976: 46).

MacCannell's thesis is certainly attractive, but it is insufficient to explain tourism as a societal structure that involves more than sightseeing tourist attractions. Leiper, for example,

replaces the notion of 'sight' with that of 'nucleus', which he defines as "*any* feature or characteristic of a place that a traveller contemplates visiting or actually visits" (1990: 372; see also Lovelock, 2004; Richards, 2002). The nucleus is therefore defined as a feature or characteristic of the larger place in which it is situated. Such a reformulation of MacCannell's model has huge consequences, for it reframes the attraction in terms of its relationship with the destination; i.e. as a symbolic marker (first framework) instead of a sight in its own right (second framework). Such an approach involves a more general focus on the practices of touring destinations rather than on those of sightseeing attractions. This reformulation, however, far from undermining the centrality of sightseeing, necessitates a reassessment of the role played by attractions in tourist communication.

I shall argue that tourist attractions function as attractors of tourist communication making probable the engagement in 'touring' over 'vacationing'. Indeed, it often proves difficult to only 'vacation' at a given destination where there are well-known tourist attractions, for, as MacCannell observes, "no one is exempt from the obligation to go sightseeing" (1999: 43). In tourism studies there has been a major debate about whether attractions exercise a magnetic pulling power over people (Gunn in Selby, 2004b) or tourists are pushed by their own motivation towards an attraction (Leiper, 1990). If tourist attractions are understood as 'tourists attractors' or 'toured attractions', from a communicational perspective they might be described as 'safe supplies' (Goffman, 1959), in the sense that they ensure the safe and uncontested reproduction of tourist communication. Indeed, closer to safe supplies than to powerful fetishes, tourist attractions can be resisted and even rejected, as in the cases of backpackers (Edensor, 1998), alternative tourism (Macleod, 1997), off-the-beaten-track urban tourism (Maitland and Newman, 2004) and in some forms of ecotourism. Avoiding tourist attractions does not necessarily imply escaping from tourism, since it is still possible to engage in practices oriented to the touring of destinations. Thus, while attractions make engaging in touring easier, they are not a required precondition for it to occur. In this sense, they play the same role as love in marital partnerships: love certainly makes probable the reproduction of intimate marital communication, but, sadly or not, is not condition for it (Luhmann, 1998a).

Tourist attractions function thus as "symbolically generalized media of communication" (Luhmann, 1997a: 316ff), as they use generalizations to symbolize a unity between the selection of a sight and the motivation of a tourist. This unity is achieved by the

mutual conditioning of selection and motivation enabled by the tourist attraction. Such an effect is indeed what Dean MacCannell insightfully recognized and, perhaps too enthusiastically, inferred for tourism at large.

> "Moderns somehow know what the important attractions are, even in remote places. This miracle of consensus that transcends national boundaries rests on an elaborate set of institutional mechanisms, a twofold process of *sight sacralization* that is met with a corresponding *ritual attitude* on the part of the tourists" (MacCannell 1999: 42).

Sight sacralization and ritual attitude are precisely the two elements made into one by attractions. However, they provide symbolic condensations that make the necessity of a consensus superfluous, rather than operating on the basis of a 'miracle of consensus'. In this sense, they can neither be equated to a set of shared symbolic values nor to the language of tourism. Indeed, since the language of tourism (Dann, 1996) enables the 'understanding' of what is being communicated, it increases the possibilities of questioning, contestation and rejection rather than ensuring acceptation. Given this indeterminacy introduced by language, it results more adequate to understand tourist attractions as symbolic generalizations that emerge slowly through historical processes of distillation of the rejections and acceptations involved in tourist communication, rather than as based on a 'miracle of consensus'.

This perspective moves the focus of attention towards the symbolic unity that makes touring probable; this is towards the *attraction* of tourist attractions. Its analysis should avoid two symmetrical mistakes: either arguing that tourist attractions have essential properties or assuming that they are like screens where social representations are projected. The question is rather how this attraction or symbolic unity is attached to particular tourist attractions and how these attachments are compared and calculated.

Reflecting on my analysis of tourist guidebooks, tourist maps, bus-tours and walking/tours, it is evident that a central operation consists of the singularization of tourist attractions. Apart from being named, introduced in orderings of destination identity, placed in space by means of tourist maps or performed as marking the rim between walking and touring, tourist attractions need to be singularized as unique attractions. As Callon and Muniesa argue, in the case of economic goods, "singularizing a good means endowing it with properties that make it comparable, but not identical, to other goods" (Callon and Muniesa, 2004)14. In the case of tourist attractions this occurs, for example, through the attribution of unique kinds of historical value. Thus, some attractions are transformed into *symbols* that evoke historical periods or events, whilst others are claimed to have a *representative* character

of a given period. Attractions can also be historically singularized by attributing a *testimonial* function to them as the last traces of a vanished time or by indicating them as *stages* in historical events.

Superlatives are also often used to singularize an attraction. This involves defining the context, usually by taking geographical scales (Berlin, Germany, Europe, the world), and the criteria of comparison. Qualitative criteria, such as meaning, beauty or importance, and quantitative criteria particularly, such as speed, size, number, age, height or weight, are usually presented as determining the objective properties of the attraction. The possibilities of singularization are thus very varied. Tourist properties might be used to singularize attractions, by comparing them, for example, with other usually more famous ones ("this is the Champs Elysee of Berlin") or by describing them as sights that tourists like to visit. All these forms of singularization define ultimately different kinds of unity between selection of sight and motivation of the tourist that symbolized by the tourist attraction.

Singularization is thus at the very root of the attraction of tourist attractions, for it enables the attachment of tourist attractions to tourists' personal worlds. MacCannell (1999) opened this discussion by arguing that participation in a collective ritual of sightseeing enables the attribution of individual markers to sights that have been marked by others. More recently, Rojek (1997) has argued that experiencing a sight involves dragging elements from different indexes of representation and combining them in new ways to create a new value for a place. Both accounts suggest that the attraction of tourist attractions ultimately comes from practices of adjustment of the singular qualities of the attraction to the personal worlds of the tourist.

Singularization enables also the "qualculation" (Callon and Law, 2005) of the attraction of tourist attractions; this is the qualitative calculation of how much unity is symbolized by the attraction. A simple example of how qualculation takes place are the indexes, list of contents, lists, and rankings of attractions that can be found in most tourist guidebooks. Interestingly, these produce simultaneously different types of qualculations based on different criteria.

The ADAC guidebook of Berlin, for example, contains information on more than 500 tourist attractions, which are alphabetically listed on a four-page index at the end of the

guidebook. Such a large number of attractions necessitates the provision for readers of easy procedures to "qualculate" the attraction of tourist attractions, and so facilitate decisions on what and how to tour. Thus, this guidebook assembles a first group of 145 attractions, which are numbered, included in the table of contents, and indicated on a city map. Each of these attractions also has an independent section within which other attractions are mentioned. While the kind of qualculation involved here seems to be oriented to identify those attractions that define sites of touring activity, very different criteria are used to identify the 42 attractions defined as 'Top Tips'. This is not a subset of the former subset, but the product of a different kind of qualculation oriented to identify attractions that might prompt touring activities, baits that might motivate tourists. This again is different from qualculations oriented to distinguish 'what ought to be seen' at a given destination, usually presented as a list or ranking of 10 to 15 attractions that even day-trippers should not miss.

As these examples show, the unity between selection of a sight and the motivation of tourists embodied by tourist attractions is not achieved on a purely symbolic or immaterial level, but by means of concrete "qualculative" devices, such as tourist maps, bus-tours, walking/tours, and tourist guidebooks (on products' packs, shopping carts and supermarkets as qualculative devices, see Cochoy and Grandclément-Chaffy, 2005). This illustrates that tourist qualculative capacities are not necessarily settled in the minds of the tourists, but are rather symmetrically distributed in a material, textual and visual ecology. Correspondingly, the qualculation of the attraction of a tourist attraction is only partially performed by the tourist, who selects attractions on the basis of the results of the qualculative operations performed by sociotechnical devices. Indeed, tourist guidebooks do not disclose the procedures and criteria used for the qualculation of attractions. They present multiple sets of attractions as cognitive and qualculative offers, which the tourist can take or leave. In a sense, the encounter of a tourist with a guidebook resembles the encounter of two black-boxes, each of which performs operations and qualculations on the basis of criteria and procedures invisible to each other. This encounter enacts thus a particular form of double contingency, which is characteristic of tourist communication.

8.3. On Tourists and Guides

In order to reproduce itself as communication, tourism need to be structured in terms of a basic communicational duality that can be grasped by the figures of *ego* and *alter*. *Ego* and *alter* do not designate particular human beings, people on tour and people at home, but define

rather communicative positions. For Luhmann, this duality is necessary for the construction of systems of communication:

> "Social systems emerge […] through (and only through) the fact that *both* partners experience *double* contingency and that the indeterminability of such situation for *both* partners in *any* activity that then takes place possesses significance for the formation of structures. This cannot be grasped via the basic concept of action" (Luhmann, 1995: 108).

Following post-human approaches (e.g. Latour, 2005b), it can be argued that these basic positions of communications ('partners') can also be enacted by objects, texts, technologies and other devices, such as tourist guidebooks, as long as they are capable of introducing differences that make a difference and thereby altering courses of communication. Double contingency is indeed not an ontological given fact, but enabled and determined by communication itself (Luhmann, 1995: 103ff.). It is therefore, an empirical question whether communication processes allow double contingency to be enacted by books, computers, cats, artworks or humans.

The question about the kind of duality that articulates tourist communication is also a empirical one. Following Luhmann (1997a: 332ff.), different forms of communication operate on the basis of different elaborations of this double contingency, which are idiosyncratic to their own communicative dynamics. Such modelled duality reduces the complexity and indeterminacy of a situation of radical double contingency. The assemblages, orderings, arrangements, and practices of 'touring Berlin' described and analyzed in the previous chapters suggest indeed that the flows of tourist communication come and go between two central figures: the tourists and the guides. This basic duality could not only be observed in guided-tours, but also in situations without an official human guide, where textual materials and devices, such as guidebooks and tourist maps or even traffic signs and loudspeakers, as in the case of the bus route 100, take over the communicative position of the guide. Tourists and guides are thus a pair of complementary roles that enable inclusion in dynamics of tourist communication.

Focussing on tourists and guides involved breaking with large portions of the anthropological literature on tourism which focuses much more on the encounters between tourists and hosts (Boissevain, 1996; Smith, 1995). Such emphasis is, in my view, more a consequence of anthropology's own disciplinary history rather than a constituent of tourism. Indeed, anthropologists turned to the study of tourism only when they recognized that tourism was completely enmeshed in the local lives of the anthropologists' communities and 'messing

up the neighbourhood', as Clifford Geertz put it (see Bruner, 2005: 6). In this context, the research accounts that ignored tourists became "reminiscent of 1920s ethnographic accounts that omitted any reference to the colonial governments around them and produced fantasy ethnography" (Bruner, 2005: 8). Since the anthropological interest in tourism was always in terms of the impacts that tourism and the tourists have on 'their' object of study, it is not surprising that most accounts underline the instrumental, oppositional and asymmetrical character of encounters between hosts and guests (Nuñez, 1995). This is also often taken to reflect economic, political and cultural frames of centre/periphery relations and dependency (Selwyn, 1996a). Moreover, the main critique coming from anthropology of the focus on this host/guest division is that it "disguises so many further divisions" (Abram and Waldren, 1997: 3). Thus, this opposition is still accepted as the starting-point for further inquiry, and the major empirical challenge becomes seeing how it takes form or is blurred in particular sociocultural settings (Halvaksz, 2006; Kohn, 1997; Macleod, 1997; O'Reilly, 2003; Waldren, 1997).

In my view, there is a greater problem with this focus on hosts-guests relationships. It fails to explain how a specifically tourist form of communication might emerge out of such encounters. The example of Kiko, a Japanese tourist in a small Turkish village that the anthropologist Hazel Tucker invited to join for a local wedding, is revealing. After taking pictures for an hour, Kiko decided to leave. Tucker concludes:

> "she had used the event in order to 'stoke up cultural capital' by taking photographs and simply being there, in order that she could say she had been there once she returned to the tourist sphere, where she felt more comfortable" (Tucker, 1997: 123-124).

This suggests that tourist communication takes place in that 'tourist sphere' and that hosts or locals do not play suitable complementary roles for tourist communication. This is certainly not an ontological restriction, but a communicative one, which can be bridged as soon as locals take over the role of guide or that of tourists.

For the same reasons, it is inappropriate to argue that tourist communication takes place only among tourists, as Dirk Baecker (2005) has suggested. The problem is not only that this argument relies on an ontological distinction between people on leisure travel and people at home, but also that 'tourist talk' does not equal tourist communication. This is not a theoretical refinement, but, again, an empirical problem. The anthropologist Edward Bruner (2005) has pointed out, for example, that studies of tourists' conversations provide scarcely

any insights into touring cultures. He argues that it is not by chance that research on tourism has systematically neglected tourists' chat and focused on performances, notions, practices, images, tourist maps, myths and myth making. It seems therefore that something more than just tourists talking with each other is necessary for tourist communication to emerge. As I have shown, it is rather the basic form of social coordination and complementary orientation of both, guide *and* tourist, towards showing and experiencing a destination, getting and giving information, providing and attending to interpretations, fabricating situations and believing, that makes 'touring destinations' possible.

In the epilogue written in 1998 to his classic work *The Tourist*, MacCannell tells the story of the woman, the boy, and the shoe-shine guy. It is Terminal B of O'Hare Airport, Chicago and MacCannell and the guy shining his shoes commiserate about tourists wearing multi-coloured sports shoes. Suddenly, a woman and a boy, probably her son, walk by. The mother points to them and says: "See, the man is working. He's shining shoes". MacCannell and the shoe-shine guy paralyze. The boy is not impressed, but he nods to his mother before rejoining the stream of travellers. MacCannell reflects:

> "I might have been able to convey a stronger sense of the 'touristic' if I had written *The Tourist* less from the perspective of the little boy, and more from the perspective of the boy's mother. The central organizing metaphor of the book, 'we are all tourists', still stands. But it is true also that, on occasion, […] *we are tour guides*" (1999: 191).

MacCannell's story shows two things. Firstly, that the enactment of the guide position is often the driving force stimulating the enactment of tourist communication. Secondly, that the tourist/guide duality embraces not only what happens on guided tours or in tourist groups with a clear distribution of roles, but also the touring practices of families, couples, friends and singles, who tour and guide themselves in an improvised way. However, and this is crucial, tourist communication is not an action that can be reduced to just guide or tourist. The bearers of tourism are neither the mother nor the boy, but the situational frame that is enacted at such moments (see Ch. 6 and 7).

Tourism occurs thus on the basis of eigen-dynamics and sociotechnical arrangements that cannot be explained as achievements of the actors involved. Tourist communication is attributed to the *egos* and *alters*, tourists and guides, partaking of it. Such an attribution process, argues Luhmann (1997a: 335ff.), involves allotting communications as internal or external states of a given actor. When a communication is deemed external, it is treated as an experience of the actor. When it is deemed to be caused by an internal state of the actor, it is

treated as its action. This kind of attribution process has also been described in ANT-studies that show that even though agency is symmetrically distributed along networks of actants, there are processes of black-boxing by which one particular actant appears to monopolize the agency capacities (among others Callon, 1986; Callon and Latour, 1981; Latour, 1988; Star and Griesemer, 1998).

The unique contribution of Luhmann has been to show that different functional domains, such as economy, arts or tourism, have idiosyncratic forms of black-boxing at their disposal – producer/consumer, artist/public or, as I suggest here, tourist/guide. Luhmann speaks of "constellations of attribution" (1997a: 337) to identify the way communications are recurrently attributed in each of these ambits. The case of science is, in my view, particularly helpful for understanding tourism's constellation of attribution. Claims of truth and their sanctioning as scientific truths are, indeed, not attributed to the agency, willingness or interest of the actors, but rather to objective external criteria. Scientists are only acclaimed for their discoveries, not for their inventions. Truth is thus not treated as the result of actions of the participants in scientific communication, but as experiences. This reduction to the experience, argues Luhmann, "produces, however surprising as this might sound at first, a considerable *delimitation* of the admissible possibilities" (1997a: 340, transl. IF).[i] Communication oriented by values offer another good example of this delimitation derived from the reduction to experience. Values enter into communicative processes at "inviolate levels" (Luhmann 1997: 341), which are not selected but experienced by all participants in communication.

Scientific truths and values resemble destinations and attractions, for the latter are also performed as being experienced by tourists and guides, not as products of their own actions. This would not be the case if the basic communicative duality of tourism were the opposition between tourists and locals. Attractions, performances and the staging of one's own culture would then be treated as actions by locals to produce experiences for tourists. This constellation of attribution would be similar to that which is predominant in arts and would only work if locals were capable of concealing their own roles as the producers of attractions and destinations. This point is indeed one of the main hooks on which MacCannell's work hangs. This is however unnecessary, even if the historical ambiances are clearly fake, dances performed only for the tourists, and original handicrafts rather mass-produced, as tourist communication refers to world of destinations which is taken as given. Indeed, regardless of whether touring practices are performed as a ritual of authentification or as self-ironic play

oriented to inauthentic cultural performances, tourist communication maintains this experiential constellation of attribution.

This point can be wonderfully demonstrated by the famous story told by Edward M. Bruner about his job as guide to a group of well-educated upper-middle class Americans touring Indonesia. He describes how using his position as guide he attempted to deconstruct the local performances staged for tourists by explaining how they have changed through history or meeting the performers after the dances, as well as the practices of tourists, for example, by picturing them as they were taking pictures. As he explains, the main achievement of his practices was being fired by the owner of the tour company. However, if one reflects about what Bruner tells us occurred on his tours, it seems that it wasn't really necessary for his boss to fire him, as long as Bruner had proved incapable of rendering tourist communication into something different. He recalls, "What I eventually learned -to my regret- was that tourists, even those on educational tours, do not really want an ethnographic perspective" (Bruner 2005: 6). Indeed, despite his efforts to make tourists reflect on their own 'actions', what these tourists were ultimately getting was a tour of their position as tourists. Thus, Bruner's attempted deconstruction of the tour produced only a displacement of the *object* of tourist communication –from the destination to the individual tourist practices-, but did not alter the basic structures of the tourist communication being enacted. His tours were thus still about 'experiencing' the world (in this case the world of tourism), which was experienced as external to the agency capacities of both tourists and guides, even when they were reflexive anthropologists.

8.4. The Function of Tourist Communication

Dean MacCannell and Nelson Gabrun are probably the first and last social scientists who explicitly wrote about the function fulfilled by tourism for society at large. This occurred because tourism became the object of systematic academic consideration at a time when functionalism and structuralism in sociology and anthropology were on their way out to be replaced by new theoretical strands, such as post-structuralism, post-modern anthropology, practice and performance theories. Tourism research started too late for more systematic discussions on the societal function of tourism to take place.

At the beginning of the 1970's, authors still had some time to seriously pose the question about the function of tourism. In the introduction to *The Tourist*, MacCannell recalls

an encounter in 1968 with Claude Lévi-Strauss, during which the French anthropologist argued that as a consequence of the intervention of history and the resulting smashing of societal structure, no structural analysis of modern society would be possible. Despite the warnings, MacCannell would still attempt to do it,

> "I admit that I am still somewhat concerned about the implications of his admonitions that one cannot do an ethnography of modernity, but I shall go ahead anyway, confident at least that I did not *try* to do a structural analysis of the tourist and modern society. It forced itself upon me" (1999: 2).

Two leading figures in contemporary tourism research have argued that not listening to Lévi-Strauss was perhaps MacCannell's biggest mistake (Franklin and Crang, 2001). Even though they are probably correct, MacCannell's theory remains the only available starting point to reflect on the societal function of tourism.

MacCannell's premise was that social structural differentiation constitutes the central feature of modernity, shaping all its ambits, from sex to politics, over class and work. However fragmentary, unreal, chaotic, unplanned, unstable and inauthentic modernity might seem, he argued that a basic worldview and common values could be recognized on a second examination. Tourism, he suggested, would be the central symbolic structure of society, which would prevail across divisions, be these geo-political ones between communism and capitalism or economic ones between so-called developed and underdeveloped countries. Such a thesis was not just inspired by Emile Durkheim's description of religious symbolism in tribal societies, but was also in accordance with Thorstein Veblen's notion that leisure, and today we would say consumption, reflects social structure. Unlike Veblen however, MacCannell perceived the social structure reflected by tourism as its most deep-seated structure of differentiation, articulating the modern experience of the world, not just the class structure of society. Since the structure of attractions would thus reflect the structure of differentiation of modernity –"the differentiations are the attractions" (MacCannell, 1999: 13)-, sightseeing would enact the collective striving for transcendence, totality and integration of society, "a way of attempting to overcome the discontinuity of modernity, of incorporating its fragments into unified experience" (1999: 13). Such a dynamic would transform tourism into a major framework for the integration of modern society and that would be its function.

This description has been criticised from several perspectives. Most critics, however, focus on the question about the societal function of tourism rather than on the answer given by MacCannell. In this regard, my critique is different, as it aims to lead to an alternative

answer to the question. The problem with MacCannell's answer, as with other structuralist accounts, is that it does not distance itself sufficiently from its object of study. At first this critique might be difficult to understand, since any reader of Lévi-Strauss would recall that in structuralism "[t]he basic principle is that the notion of social structure does not refer to empirical reality as such but to *models constructed on its basis*" (Lévi-Strauss 1958 in Luhmann 1995: 278, emphasis IF). But this is precisely the point, for, as Lévi-Strauss explains, such models are not produced by the analyst, but correspond to 'home-made models' produced by society itself (see Luhmann, 1995: 278ff.). Correspondingly, the methodological procedures described by Lévi-Strauss to discover, for example, the structures of myths are descriptive, not analytical ones. MacCannell's comment that his structural analysis of modernity forces itself upon him reflects precisely this lack of distance and reveals his interpretation to be reflecting the self-description or self-modelling of tourism as fulfilling an integrative societal function.

Luhmann (1997a) has argued that every functional ambit of society – politics, economy, law, education, health-care - observes, describes and models itself as being at the very core of society, even though modern society is polycentric and cannot be reduced to any meta-structure or to common schemas of differentiation. Consequently, any discussion of the function fulfilled by tourism should assume that it cannot steer the reproduction of other ambits of society or represent societal differentiation. Moreover, since functions can be latent, this is only visible for a second-order observer[1], any relevant clues about the societal function of tourism will not be found in self-descriptions, but grasped rather by means of a comparative analysis of tourism from a societal perspective.

I shall argue that tourism becomes particularly salient for its unique relationship to mobility. This should be carefully understood, for it does not just mean that tourism involves high levels of mobility. Indeed, economic goods or mass-media news are inserted in circuits of mobility, which are much more rapid and dynamic that those of tourism. This thesis points

[1] Urry has observed a rapid increase in tourist reflexivity in recent years. This reflexivity involves, on the one hand, new sets of procedures for destinations to monitor and modify their own positioning and, on the other hand, an increasing institutionalisation of tourism studies, journals, university departments and expert cultures. (See Urry 2001a). If Urry is right, this new reflexivity could be also on its way to produce new descriptions of the societal function of tourism. Even this dissertation, and the following brief reflections on the function of tourism, should then be understood to be the result of this new tourist reflexivity.

to a different direction. It suggests rather that the unique performance made by tourism is to introduce mobility into the ambit of societal communication and to make it tangible for society at large.

If one understands society to be essentially constituted by communicative processes, as I have done in this dissertation, mobility appears only as a condition for communication and as a central feature of individuals, objects, goods, and other elements coupled to such communicative processes. Despite this, it remains intangible for the main functional domains of world-society, such as economy, politics, mass-media, arts, or sports, and certainly does not orient their communicational dynamics. While all these functional ambits operate on the basis of mobility of goods, people, ideas, violence, none of these orientate their communication to mobility. Even though visual arts, for example, depend to a great extent on the mobility of artists, whose perspectives and careers are increasingly evaluated on the basis of mobility patterns (Nippe, 2005), artworks are not evaluated by their mobility, but by their capacity to be as they should be and to become ontologically necessary (Luhmann, 2000). Similarly, even though scientific papers need to be assembled as 'immutable mobiles' (Latour and Woolgar, 1986), their truth claims are not evaluated on the basis of mobility, but following theoretical and methodological criteria internal to science (Luhmann, 1990). Looking also at the figures of the flaneur (Benjamin, 1997; Benjamin, 2004), the incarcerated train passenger (de Certeau, 1988), the metro rider (Augé, 2002), the car-driver (Sheller and Urry, 2004; Thrift, 2004) or the anonymous passer-by (Delgado, 2007), it seems that modern experiences of mobility, transit and displacement are characterized by incommunicability, introspection and atomism. All these examples are striking, as they demonstrate that even though transportation, migration, and all forms of local, regional and global mobility are ubiquitous phenomena characteristic of modernity (Appadurai, 1996; Lash and Urry, 1994), they have not triggered the emergence of a societal structure of communication specifically oriented to make sense of all this mobility.

In this context, the uniqueness of the orientation of tourism to mobility is very salient. Correspondingly, its societal function could be understood as thematizing, communicating and making sense of experiences of mobility, which remain otherwise invisible to society. Tourism does involve making sense of specific forms of mobility, which however are in no respect comparable to those of refugees, ATP-circuit players or suburban commuters. Despite this, it remains unique in its processing and sense-making of mobility in general. In this sense,

the function of tourism is somehow similar to that of artistic communication. Luhmann (2000) argues that one of the things that art does, unlike any other form of communication, is to render human perception into an issue of communication. In this manner, human perception, which is a necessary condition for society but not necessarily part of it, is introduced into the communicative flows articulating a structure of world-society. Whilst the way video-artists or sculptors work with perception does not illuminate the role played by perception in, say, medical operations, artistic communication, and not medical communication has taken over the function of processing and making sense of perception. In a similar way, it might be argued that tourism has taken over the function of making mobility visible and tangible for society at large.

Tourism counteracts thus a pervasive opposition between mobility and communication as two incommensurable dimensions of social life. This incommensurability is demonstrated by Luhmann's own description of modern society (Luhmann, 1997a), which he sees it as standing for a demise of space and space-related phenomena. From his perspective, space and mobility only explain anecdotal differences and cannot account for any of the major features of modern society. Lash and Urry have responded to this claim by arguing that mobility explains features of modernity that communication cannot explain:

> "Following Luhmann we know of the importance of communication but this is only half of the story. It is also necessary to consider the nature of mobility […] and of its relationships with different forms of communication" (Lash and Urry, 1994: 253).

Communication is certainly half of the story, but while mobility is a necessary condition for different forms of communication, it does not structure its reproduction. The unique contribution made by tourism to society at large goes against that trend and consists precisely of making mobility communicable.

The function of tourism can be further specified by pointing to the effects for society at large from such thematization of mobility. I shall mention here three aspects. In the introduction to his study on *German Travel Cultures*, the American historian Rudy Koshar suggests that tourism is a "form of leisure that potentially allows the individual to make sense of an existential fact of modern society: the consciousness of displacement" (2000: 8). Koshar argues that even though tourism involves a rather pleasurable form of displacement, all tourists, even the most well-to-do, are confronted by the experience of being displaced, as they,

> "must make plane and train connections, deal with unpredictable hotels and travel agents, adjust to changes in diet and weather, negotiate cultural and linguistic barriers, endure family flare-ups, choose travel guides, and read the signs and images of tourist destinations" (2000: 8).

It is important to emphasize that Koshar speaks of the potential to engender such consciousness of displacement, which is embedded in leisure travel. I shall argue that this possibility is not just a sort of positive externality of physical travel, but it is facilitated by tourism's thematization of mobility.

A different consequence of making mobility communicable is the decompression of the world[2]. The world-wide expansion of communication and transport infrastructures has produced what many authors have called a time-space compression of the world. Such compression has been, indeed, one of the fundamental conditions for the emergence and reproduction of tourism, making leisure travel faster, cheaper, surer, and more accessible. On that basis, tourism has paradoxically, become oriented to making the world larger, more diverse and producing a sense of incommensurability, rather than compression. On the one hand, this involves a kind of quantitative decompression, which occurs when new destinations are constantly distinguished, and thereby assembled. Destinations might be packaged and easy to tour, but their infinite reproduction counteracts any experience of compression of the world. On the other hand, there is also some qualitative decompression, which results from the thematization of mobility and the experience of displacement. This occurs, for example, by fostering forms of movement that are disconnected from utility or functionality: circular movement, alternative and slower transport technologies, detours. Touring the world is thus more about experiencing its incommensurability and less about overcoming distance.

Tourism's thematization of mobility and its structural orientation towards the touring of an unlimited number of destinations also permits the counteraction of the universalization of the opposition between work and leisure. Indeed, touring destinations involves the enactment of a self-referential and self-contained social space, within which distinctions between work and leisure become irrelevant. Tourism involves an alternative construction of reality; a field of assemblages, practices and narratives that are neither work nor leisure, but organized on its own terms. It is useful to contrast tourism's performance with that of religion and art. While the latter two produce constructions that transcend the limits of reality towards

[2] I am in debt to Prof. Jean Clam for pointing out this aspect.

the sacred and the possible, tourism's alternative constructions contribute rather to an internal expansion of the limits of reality. The function of tourism is thus not to offer an escape from society, but rather to reenact society within society. This might indeed explain why authors, such as Andreas Pott (2007), attribute to tourism the function of offering experiences of total inclusion in society. In my view, this thesis needs to be subtlely discussed, because the experiences of displacement enabled by leisure travel involve an experience of exclusion of those functional ambits, which have internal structures of differentiation that follow national state boundaries, such as politics or health-care. Tourism is orientated much more to the enactment of society within society.

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This description of tourism as a functionally differentiated form of communication poses great challenges to our understanding of the relationship between tourism and the city. Now it is possible to investigate this interface from a third perspective, namely, by looking at the position of tourism within an urban public sphere. As should be clear, tourist communication on the city is not simply produced within the city, but reproduced according to structures and functions defined at societal level and, far from being oriented to city-marketing, politics of memory, artistic or literary representation of the city, it reproduces itself according to its own internal structures and functional imperatives.

9. Tourism and the Multiple City III: Placing Tourism in the Urban Sphere

This chapter looks at tourism from the perspective of the city, and not vice-versa, as was the case previously in this thesis. Conceptualizations of the city as a 'virtual object' and a 'noisy environment' were elaborated specifically when the communicative dynamics of tourism were being explored. This chapter explores the place of tourism within a city conceived as a multiple entity. This requires the delineation of a notion of city based on relational and policontextural approaches, which foster thinking in terms of multiple enactments of the city rather than in terms of competing symbolic representations (1). On that basis, this chapter also proposes a research agenda for further research into urban tourism. Some reflections and examples are presented whilst focusing on the relationships of tourism with other 'neighbouring' enactments of the city, such as those of city-marketing and collective memory. Structural couplings, public collisions and contextual orientation are presented as three analytical perspectives for placing tourism in the multiple city without rejecting the eigen-dynamics of tourist communication (2).

9.1. Decentring the City: From Symbolic Representation to Multiple Enactments

The analysis of urban tourism presented in this dissertation challenges some influential understandings of the city that have been predominant in the urban studies field since the 1990's. The suggestion that tourism is a functionally-differentiated form of communication constituted simultaneously at societal and at situational level, decentres the notion of the city as a political-economic locus where tourism is produced and managed. Similarly, the thesis that destinations constitute virtual objects of tourist communication obliges a radical reassessment of their relations with other virtual enactments of the city.

More generally, the extrapolation of the analytical principles deployed for the analysis of tourism to the study of the city and the urban sphere implies breaking with the extended understanding of the city as a 'cultural object constituted by symbolic representations' and necessitates a search for alternative theoretical traditions that interpret the city as a 'policontextural object constituted by multiple ontologies'. This opposition might seem at first simplistic, but pursuing it should show what the understanding of urban tourism proposed in this dissertation might imply for urban studies in general.

In the mid-1990's Anthony D. King edited a key volume of articles under the title *Re-presenting the City* (1996b). His introduction aimed to highlight the features of a new paradigm of urban studies, which he described as transcending the perspectives of the so-called 'new urban studies' established by authors such as Manuel Castells, David Harvey and Henri Lefebvre in the late 1970's. They posited the city and the urban space to be not just expressions, but major drivers (and the fix) of the structural transformations of capitalism. While this analytical tradition has been further developed in the 1990's through the study of the role played by cities as command centres of global capitalism and as motors of national economies, the new paradigm described by King went one step further by looking at culture and symbolic representations as constituent elements of the cultural object 'city' *and* as its most fundamental economic basis. Sharon Zukin put the latter part of this argument in the following terms,

> "Suppose we turn the old Marxist relation between a society's base and its superstructure on its head and think of culture as a way of producing basic goods. In fact, culture supplies the basic information – including symbols, patterns, and meaning- for nearly all the service industries. […] Culture is intertwined with capital and identity in the city's production systems" (Zukin, 1996a: 11-12).

This understanding of culture as the major economic basis of the city has also played a major role in contemporary debates about urban resurgence, especially in terms of cultural industries, creative class and creative city (Florida, 2002).

While research on culture and creativity as economic factors adds to the political-economic perspectives on the city, the idea that culture and symbolic representations constitute and shape the city is, in my view, one of the major theoretical innovations in urban research of the early 1990's. This notion came together with a new emphasis on cities and urban landscapes as places of symbolic representation, from collective memory (e.g. Boyer, 1994) to cultural consumption (e.g. García Canclini, 1995). Urban research began to look at representations and landscapes not only from the perspective of the new situation of inter-urban competition in a context of flexible capital accumulation, but more fundamentally as the realm where the city is constituted as a distinct entity and societal unit. Anthony King's quote of James Donald's 'Metropolis: The City as Text' makes comprehensible the view associated with this shift,

> "[T]here is no such *thing* as a city. Rather *the city* designates the space produced by the interaction of historically and geographically specific institutions, social relations of production and reproduction, practices of government, forms and media of communication, and so forth. By calling this diversity 'the city', we

> ascribe to it a coherence or integrity. The city, then, is above all a representation" (in King, 1996a: 1)

In his programmatic assessment, King introduced a hyphen in the concept of re-presentation to emphasize that re-presentations are constantly involved in a process of re-production and re-creation of cities. Along these lines, urban studies could be significantly reframed, or at least expanded, to focus on the productive and negotiated character of 're-presentations' and on the city as a 're-presentational process'.

This general interest in the productive character of 're-presentations' follows along close to my analysis of the eigen-dynamics of tourist communication *on* and *in* the city. However, a closer look at one of the most influential works of this representational approach, namely, Sharon Zukin's book *The Cultures of Cities* (1996a), reveals its ultimate unsuitability for grasping the interfaces of tourism and the city described in the previous chapters. The basic shared assumption held among researchers conceiving the city as an object of cultural representation is the idea that urban representations are inscribed in physical and symbolic materials, which are "necessary prerequisite for […] the mental constructs which form the discourses" (King, 1996a: 4). For Zukin (1996a), the built, material, physical and spatial forms of the city reflect socio-political ideologies, prescribe specific kinds of practices and include certain kinds of users. Symbolic representations and imaginative reconstructions of the city are mostly produced from the points of view of commercial culture, historic preservation, public policy, real estate development, and city-marketing. This anchoring of urban representations in what she sees as production systems of space and symbols defines thus an objective basis upon which representations are produced, inscribed and stabilized.

In my view, this focus on the 'objective' anchoring of representations has a major downside, for it suggests that the process of representing the city is a zero-sum struggle over a limited fund of spaces and symbols. Thinking in terms of the first part of this dissertation, one realizes that the enactment of an urban destination occurs *only partially* on the basis of material and objective resources. It depends essentially on virtual transformations, such as the ordering of heterogeneous materials to assemble a destination identity (Chapter 2) or the enactment of certain modes of mobility and vision to constitute destination space (Chapter 4). Rather than inscribing representations in material space, tourism involves a form of enacting the city based on social practices and sociotechnical frames of tourist communication (Chapters 5 & 6). Consequently, while this sensitivity towards the virtual and the fluid favours a policontextural understanding of the city, the objective anchoring of representations

leads to a monological understanding of the relation between spaces and symbols. Moreover, such 'objective' understanding of material and symbolic representation, which for each space allows only one objectively inscribed frame of meaning, leads necessarily to an emphasis on the struggle over representations.

Since urban representations have political consequences in terms of what should be visible and what should not, who is a legitimate user and who is not, and concepts of order and disorder, the struggle over representations is equated with social conflict between urban classes, ethnic groups, majorities, minorities, gender, and other forms of social differentiation. For these groups, it is the power to impose a vision on space which enables them (or not) to claim their right to the city. Zukin observes that the power "to arrange these visions artfully, to orchestrate and choreograph images of diversity to speak for a larger whole" (Zukin, 1996a: 14) is increasingly mediated by cultural non-profit institutions, such as museums, and by cultural industries shaping the cultural consumption of city through art, food, fashion, music, tourism, and cinema. This symbolic economy constitutes for Zukin a singular and coherent system of production of urban spaces and symbols, which since the 1970's has become the most important central means of framing a vision of the city. In that context, the central question to be posed is *whose* representations about *whose* cultures are produced by *which* cultural institutions and industries. Consequently, she observes that contemporary cities lack a common (democratic) public culture based on processes of negotiating urban representations in accessible public spaces for social interaction.

Such an emphasis on the primacy and coherence of the symbolic economy of the city is problematical and needs to be radically revised. One of its flaws corresponds, in my view, to the 'problem of synecdoche', which, as Amin and Graham (1998) explain, consists of building up an understanding of the city on the basis of an over-emphasis of certain spaces, senses of space-time or urban representations. This overlooks the multiplicity of spaces, times and partial representations circulating *within* the city. I add that this is not just an epistemological problem, but also one about the ways social sciences enact the social. Since social sciences are 'productive' as they help to make social realities, they should also reflect on the social realities they (want to) help to make (Law and Urry, 2004). From that perspective, it seems that the symbolic economy approach might be functional for the reproduction of certain spaces and certain representations. Considering both aspects, the accuracy and the politics of the social analysis, it seems appropriate to argue with Kaschuba

(2003a) that rather than representation in *the* public space, representations are constitutive of *multiple* public spaces. They are in a process of constant dissemination throughout the city and are essentially irreducible to coherent or meta-narratives.

Apart from discussing the notion that there is a *primacy* of the symbolic economy, I argue that the idea that such symbolic economy constitutes a *coherent* system of production of spaces and symbols must be radically questioned. Indeed, the different 'factors' of production considered –tourism, fashion or art- exhibit dynamics, structures and semantics that when looked at in detail cannot be simply described as pertaining to or being subordinated to a unique economy of symbols and spaces. One should seriously ask whether the enactments of urban spaces in filmed representations (Frahm, 2008) are comparable with those produced by city-marketing (e.g. Farías, 2005), or the latter with those produced by tourism. It is also important to question to what extent all these different ways of enacting the city are reducible to a common representational logic. These objections make urgent the need to move away from the theoretical language of urban representations towards relational and policontextural understandings of the city.

Relationality is a theoretical perspective that when applied to the city refers essentially to its ontology and demands a symmetrical description of *its* actual and virtual existence and of the multiple modes of being and becoming *within* cities. A relational approach to urban studies has been developed mainly by a small group of mostly British cultural geographers, including Nigel Thrift, Ash Amin and Stephen Graham. Their work is significantly influenced by the same theoretical strands prompting my description of tourist destinations (cfr. Chapters 2, 3, 4 and 5), particularly ANT and Deleuzian philosophy. The main challenge posed is to substitute a notion of the city as a multiple and heterogeneous entity for the 'monological closure and excessive coherence' predominant in the analysis of cities (cfr. Shields, 1996). Correspondingly, it is the notion of 'Multiplex City', i.e.,

> "the idea of the urban as the co-presence of multiple spaces, multiple times, and multiple webs of relations, tying local sites, subjects and fragments into globalising networks of economic, social and cultural change" (Amin and Graham, 1998: 417-418),

which best summarizes the central endeavour of these relational approaches. From the large number of conceptual and analytical distinctions introduced by these scholars, there are at least three key notions that provide an apposite context for embracing the description of

tourism presented in this dissertation: extended ecology, eventful sociality, and circulating networks.

The idea of an extended ecology suggests that cities are hybrid collectives of natural, animal, material, mechanical, human, institutional, technological, and electronic elements performing the urban in multiple ways. On the one hand, cities are then conceived as "the theatre of life itself" (Amin and Graham, 1998: 12), implying thereby not just a stage for human private and public life, but also an arena where multiple forms of life come together, from germs (DeLanda, 2000) to rivers (Bender, 2006b). This emphasis on life also suggests that practices of engineering the body and the senses are much more central to urban life than the orchestration of urban representations (Amin and Thrift, 2002), and that urban relations of power are thus less about visual power and more about biopower and biopolitics. On the other hand, this extended ecology leads to an understanding of the city as a "sociotechnical process" (Graham and Marvin, 2001: 178 ff.), and the notion that technologies and networked infrastructures of the city, from sewage systems to internet wireless services, are phenomenologically and analytically inseparable from socio-cultural processes transforming the city and the urban condition.

Correspondingly, this extended ecology reinforces my description of tourism as entangled with sociotechnical frames that enable tourist modes of movement, vision and communication, as well as performative arrangements of the senses and bodies of tourists (Chapter 4). Touring destinations is not just a human performance oriented to symbolic representation, but a hybrid process that involves the association of heterogeneous materials and the enactment of sociotechnical frames allowing the emergence of tourist communication (Chapter 6).

It follows from such perspectives on tourist situations and guided-tours that sociotechnical arrangements are not disciplinary devices, but devices for sustaining and controlling the rim of tourist frames. Adopting a Foucauldian perspective, tourism would certainly define another modern force involved in the production of subjectivities and populations through disciplinary power. From a relational and situational perspective, however, it seems that the enactment of frames of tourist communication, even though based on sociotechnical arrangements, involves such fluid dynamics of framing and overflowing that the large temporal horizons and stable technical devices required by disciplinary

strategies to constitute subjects and populations are constantly exceeded by an eventful sociality and reduced to only momentary forms of control. The Deleuzian concept of 'societies of control' (see Lazzarato, 2006) points to power configurations attempting to control the explosive multiplicity and creativity of an eventful sociality that turns places into moments of encounter (rather than enduring sites), communities into ways of becoming-together (rather than forms of being), and urbanites into situated forms of being (rather than bearers of an internalized *habitus*). It is in the context of such an eventful city that tourism can be understood as a form of controlling urban situations, framing overflows and entanglements, and enacting momentary orderings of the destination identity.

The last notion I draw from these relational approaches to the city is that of circulating networks. In its plural form, these circulating networks make clear that whilst tourism involves the enactment of one particular heterogeneous assembly or network, the city is composed of "multiple rationalities, multiple socio-spatial circuits, diverse complexes of cultural hybridity, and the interlinkage of complex ranges of subjectivities and time-spaces" (Amin and Graham, 1998: 15). This kind of urban heterogeneity is the most central characteristic of the multiplex city. Networks are not just numerous, partially interwoven with one another, but they are also multiple, in the sense that they are always in transformation and becoming. This multiplicity of networks "making their way as/in the world" (Amin and Thrift, 2002: 29) radically challenges "the very idea that generalisation can be made about what the 'city' is" (Amin and Graham, 1998: 16).

From this perspective, the modern city is made up of a whole series of circulating networks of enrolment and control defining momentary subject positions and performative arenas. However, rather than assuming a panoptic order, the city resembles what Latour has called an 'oligopticon', a series of partial orders and localized totalities. These define multiple observatories from where partial knowledge and partial control over the city is produced. "Oligoptica, argues Latour, […] do exactly the opposite of panoptica: they see much *too little* to feed the megalomania of the inspector or the paranoia of the inspected, but what they see, they *see it well*" (Latour, 2005b: 181). Taken together they shape what Luhmann (1998b) has called 'ecologies of ignorance'. This is the unavoidable simultaneous co-existence of multiple forms of ignorance based on gaps, blind spots, mistakes, ambiguities, invisibilities, and misunderstandings (for these comparisons, see Amin and Thrift, 2002).

In line with this, the multiplicity of the city can be further emphasized in terms of its 'policontexturality'. This concept is used by Luhmann (1997a: 36 f.) to describe the simultaneity of multiple and even contradictory descriptions of society, which are produced within multiple social and functional domains. Even though the notion of policontexturality does not specifically refer to the city, it does seem particularly apposite to describe the simultaneous experience and articulation of multiple forms of communication enabled by cities. In a similar direction, Armin Nassehi (2002) defines cities in terms of the intertwinement of multiple social and functional dynamics and logics that they enable. In this sense, he argues that cities enact 'societal forms of locality' rather than 'local forms of society'. This distinction is crucial, for it suggests that cities do not produce mini-societies. They are rather social spaces constituted on the basis of larger societal structures. It then becomes clear that different urban realities enacted by different forms of societal communication "are not produced necessarily and exclusively *in* the respective cities" (Pott, 2005: 297, transl. IF). As condensations of world-society, cities constitute rather complex arenas within which the multiplicity of society derived from functional and social differentiation becomes visible and intertwined.

In my view, this policontextural understanding of the urban makes possible a new, interesting reassessment of the place and position of tourism within the urban sphere. Hitherto I have explored the interface between tourism and the city from two perspectives. I have discussed how tourist communication *on* the city literally produces the identity and space of urban destinations and how tourist communication is framed *in* the city by means of sociotechnical arrangements. The policontexturality of the urban sphere reveals that *through* the city tourism comes into contact and becomes intertwined with other social and functional domains enacting society and the urban. I conclude this thesis by presenting some reflections and delineating some dimensions of a research agenda, which I would like to explore and share with other scholars, aiming to place tourism in such a policontextural context.

9.2. Placing Tourism in the Multiple City: A Research Agenda for Urban Tourism

The attempt to grasp the core of urban tourism and touring practices by focusing on the dynamics of tourist communication has relied on a particular epoche or bracketing (Szilasi, 1959), which is mainly concerned with the intertwinement of tourism with other forms of

communication. Interestingly, while this bracketing proved helpful to describe the tourist dynamics and tourist nature of tourism, it was not consequence of a methodological decision. It was rather an 'operational epoche' that could be found in the very dynamics of tourism. Indeed, as I have described throughout this dissertation, tourist dynamics constantly push towards their own differentiation, at a situational or structural level, from the noisy and complex environments of the city and society at large. In this sense, it is tourism itself, not the observer, that conceals the multiple ways in which tourism is coupled to, steered by and sometimes collides with other social and functional domains performing the world and the urban in different ways.

If one enlarges the analytical scope and looks at the place of tourism in a policontextural and multiple urban sphere, different questions and thereby different kinds of dynamics come into view. Placing tourism in the multiple city entails thus a complex research agenda, which involves the systematic investigation of the relationships of tourism with historic preservation, urban planning, political representation, city-marketing, advertising, photography, visual arts, literature, music, and many other social domains and functionally-differentiated forms of communication.

This is a complex agenda, but not necessarily a new one. Most research on urban tourism is carried out considering the broad context of urban forces and dynamics shaping tourism and the city. Indeed, it is often the case that tourism and whichever other domains are considered, from city-marketing to urban literature, are investigated as interrelated phenomena. However, the precise forms that their intertwinement takes are not always examined in detail. This is precisely the main purpose of what I see as a necessary research agenda for urban tourism.

The central research question should probably read: if tourism really performs an epoche of its relationships with other societal domains, or to put it more clearly, if tourism is really blind to all that is not framed in tourist terms, then how could tourism ever enter into dynamics of mutual observation, cooperation, conflict or control with other non-tourist domains enacting the city and performing society? While this question can only be posed in these terms on the basis of the description of tourism as the self-referential and functionally-differentiated form of communication that I have presented throughout this dissertation, the possibility of an answer or a set of answers exceeds the limits of these pages. Instead of

answers, I shall conclude by schematically presenting some general ideas and exemplary cases that could serve to start to define the main lines of inquiry of this research agenda. Concretely, I would like to point to three dynamics placing tourism in the multiple city, which from a Luhmannian perspective could be termed 'structural couplings', 'public collisions' and 'contextual orientation'.

9.2.1. Structural Couplings: Can you buy tourism? Can you tour art?

The concept of structural coupling could prove useful to shed new light on an old discussion about the intertwinement of (urban) tourism with consumption, shopping practices, and the commercial. MacCannell (1999) believed, and apparently still does (2001a), that the realm of the commercial marks the dividing line between the spurious structure of the modern world and the authentic sights and experiences of tourism. In his view, the spuriousness of the modern everyday would be shaped by the circulation of information, images, memories and representations detached from the genuine cultural elements to which they refer. In that context, that which distinguishes authentic sights and experiences, and defines tourism, would be precisely its removal from the realm of the commercial:

> "The tourist pays for travel, food, hotels, motels, campground spaces, camping equipment, cameras, film, film processing, recreational vehicles, souvenirs, maps, guides, wash-and-wear clothing, packaged tours, travelers' checks and travel insurance, but they do not pay to see the sights […] Where a substantial charge is levied, it is said to be a fee for a necessary related service, not for seeing the sight *per se*" (MacCannell, 1999: 157).

In his epilogue to these reflections, written 25 years later, MacCannell observes that the "radical commercialization of the touristic field" (1999: 196) occurring since the mid 1970's could lead to the end of tourism. However, he argues, there would still be countless acts and experiences refractory to commercialization[1], through which ""the touristic" is […] being displaced into new things as cause, source and potential" (MacCannell, 1999: 203).

MacCannell's notion of spuriousness and idea that it strikes at the very foundations of tourism seems to have escaped the same severe criticism that its counterpart, the notion of authenticity, has received. MacCannell himself observes that it is nothing but structural spuriousness that in the 1980's and 1990's many authors started to describe as postmodernism

[1] His examples are not good. He argues for example that "[f]or them, the ubiquitous devices of the developed world are objects of intense touristic curiosity" (MacCannell 1999: 201). This suggests more about MacCannell's own ethnocentric and romanticized view of the 'Third World' (sic) than anything about the Mexican family or the student from Africa that he mentions.

(Harvey, 1989; Jameson, 1984; Lash, 1990). Similarly, the most influential thesis for contemporary tourism studies, namely, Urry's description of a structural de-differentiation of tourism, seems to refer precisely to this spuriousness:

> "What I have termed the tourist gaze is increasingly bound up with and is partly indistinguishable from all sorts of other social and cultural practices. This has the effect, as 'tourism' *per se* declines in specificity, of universalising the tourist gaze – people are much of the time 'tourists' whether they like it or not" (Urry, 1990: 82).

Indeed, Urry and colleagues argue that "tourism and culture now plainly overlap and there is no clear frontier between the two" (Rojek and Urry, 1997: 3) or, more explicitly, that "we might be moving towards the end of tourism" (Lash and Urry, 1994: 271). Such formulations describe the increasing intertwinement of tourism with other forms of cultural and visual consumption, and ultimately with the commercial, and only differ from MacCannell's notion of spuriousness in that they make no romantic references to authenticity. Conceptual differences between the two are thus minimal and ultimately centre around an empirical question: Is it possible for tourist elements, practices or knowledge to escape intertwinements with forms of cultural consumption? MacCannell says yes and argues that the future of tourism depends on that. Most contemporary authors would answer with a negative and suggests that this de-differentiation *is* the already present future of tourism.

Either-or questions are always problematic. In this case, they hinder a more complex description of the policontextural intertwinements of tourism. The question really is whether the alternative is really one about differentiation against intertwinement. Does the unmistakable bundling up of tourism with art, education, photography, television, music, sport, shopping and architecture imply a structural de-differentiation of tourism? I would answer that this is not the case and suggest that the notion of structural coupling can allow describing this intertwinement, spuriousness or de-differentiation of tourism without giving up the specificity of tourism.

It should be first noted that the forms of societal disorganisation described by Urry, in part also together with Scott Lash, can be understood as a consequence of the rise of functional differentiation, rather than as a sign of its demise. This interpretation, of course, relies on a different understanding of the concept of differentiation. The predominant vision of differentiation in social theory foresees the dissection of a totality (society) into autonomous parts (economy, politics, family, etc.) and understands the relationships between

these parts to be coordinated by society. Indeed, ever since Durkheim, differentiation always goes together with its conceptual counterpart, integration, which designates the unity of society. Correspondingly, since neither univocal boundaries between the parts of society nor integrative principles articulating their relationships can be observed today, one can only conclude that there is a process of de-differentiation,

Different conclusions can be reached if the focus is on the notion of functional differentiation, which substitutes an understanding of recursive differentiation for the otherwise predominant totality/parts concept. Recursivity implies that every form of communication reconstructs the environment in which it is embedded, as its constituent external side. Thus, while classical differentiation theory recognizes only parts, and relationships between the parts, this perspective allows differentiation to be described from multiple perspectives. Firstly, it permits a close look at the recursive relationships that every functionally-differentiated form of communication maintains with itself. These are in the case of tourism based on its 'touring destination' dynamics. Secondly, forms of communication can be described in terms of their position within society. In the case of tourism this could be specified by pointing to the societal problem to which it refers (incompatibility of travel and leisure) and the societal function it fulfils (making mobility available for societal communication). Thirdly, and this is now central, thinking in terms of functional differentiation permits a description of relationships between different forms of communication in terms of structural couplings. Luhmann (1997a: 100 ff.) argues that different functional domains and forms of societal communication are held together through their 'structural couplings', not by their integration in society.

The concept of structural coupling could be offered as a theoretical alternative to the idea that the commercialization of tourism (and the touristification of consumption) implies de-differentiation (or spuriousness) of tourism. The concept of structural coupling describes the reciprocal conditioning of communicative structures and processes, which despite their intertwinement, operate autonomously. In this sense, structural couplings produce constraints for the unfolding of a given form of communication, but they do not determine in any sense the internal dynamics of such communication. Structural couplings are so effective (and attractive, at least from an evolutionary perspective) because they also allow communicative processes to expand their communicational logic to a larger domain of operations without dramatically augmenting the internal levels of complexity. The concept shows how each form

of communication finds in the communicative events of the other a possibility to reproduce its own dynamic, without therefore needing to absorb or duplicate the complex processes that sustain each of these events. Structural couplings produce thus higher levels of interdependency between different functional domains, but without undermining functional differentiation. They make possible, thus, the paradox phenomenon described by Luhmann (1997a: 778 ff.), for whom the increasing autonomy of functionally-differentiated forms of communication is the main cause of their increasing dependency on external functional domains.

The notion of structural coupling applied to the interface of tourism and consumption suggests that every tourist situation opens up new possibilities for economic dynamics to become enacted, essentially by pricing tourist products, activities, services, and images, and treating them as economic goods to be exchanged. Similarly, tourism profits from complex orders and forms of communication, which are already structured by economy by using money to pay for transport, hotels, guided-tours, or cameras, and thereby simplifies the process of touring destinations. Moreover, tourism can transform all economic situations that occur during a trip to tourist situations and treat them and remember them as tourist experiences.

The structural coupling between tourism and economy becomes particularly salient at urban destinations, where 'touring destinations' are highly mediated by the consumption of the urban cultural offering and shopping alternatives. In the case of Berlin, this is particularly evident in the case of the tourist ordering 'Berliner Luft' (Ch. 2), which prescribes the consumption of the cultural, artistic, culinary, and nightlife offering as the central way to tour Berlin. The minor role of money in other touring practices as those associated with nature is precisely the point made by this joke:

> "Someone registers for a survival course on which one can take no more than 3 kilos of materials. A friend asks him: So, what are you taking? The answer: 3 kilos of dollars" (Canestrini, 2006: 153, transl. IF).[i]

This is certainly the correct answer for a short excursion to a city, but clearly not for extreme tourism. Indeed, it could be argued that forms of nature-related tourism, from sun-and-sea tourism to ecotourism, are not structurally coupled with economy to the same extent as urban tourism.

Exploring the structural couplings of urban tourism involves not just the reassessment of the discussion about the intertwinement between tourism and urban consumption, but also other structural couplings, for example, with arts. It is important to see if and to what extent touristic and artistic forms of communication find opportunities for their autonomous unfolding in each other. While it is clear that artistic events, art galleries and museums can be treated by tourist communication as touristic objects, activities and experiences, it is less clear as to what extent artistic dynamics emerge when art galleries and museums are visited by tourists. The issue is not whether the increase in visitor numbers and revenues derived from tourism become indispensable for art institutions, but whether tourists become art public, i.e. whether the encounters between tourists and artworks are framed by artistic structures of perception and communication. I tend to think that engaging in strictly artistic dynamics of contemplation and communication articulated by the issue of if and how an artwork functions, and not just treating artworks as tourist attractions, is part and parcel of the process of touring urban destinations. This might not necessarily be the case, but the questions about the structural couplings of urban tourism and the policontextural character of touristic experiences indeed remain open.

9.2.2. Public Collisions: On Memory, Marketing and Tourism

The idea that cities constitute policontextural realities, where multiple enactments of their reality coexist, has crucial consequences for the concept of the urban public sphere. Dirk Baecker (1996) provided a reformulation of the concept of the public sphere [*Öffentlichkeit*] sensitive to the 'ecologies of ignorance' (Luhmann, 1998b) generated by functional differentiation and certainly away from the Habermasian dialogical actors partially underlying Sharon Zukin's ideal understanding of the public space as a negotiated process.

Like Kaschuba, Baecker speaks of 'public spheres' [*Öffentlichkeiten*] in the plural form, but he emphasizes not the multiplicity of urban spaces, but the multiplicity of communicative operations 'making things public' (cfr. Latour, 2005a). From this perspective, it is a particular type of public communication that makes public decisions, events, values, and all matters, which otherwise would remain internal to functional domains (such as family, education, politics, or science), social groups (constituted along race, gender, or class), and organizations (such as the state, firms, multinationals, or churches). In addition to making things public, these public communications also reveal how they are observed and evaluated from the outside. The public sphere is thus constituted by multiple communications bridging

the inside and the outside of functional domains, organizations and social groups, and involves "an operation of 'aperture' that evidently does not dissolve, but marks the boundary it crosses" (Baecker, 1996: 95, transl. IF).[ii]

The experience of becoming public consists, then, in this reciprocal visualization of the boundaries constituting different societal domains. Baecker observes that public attention is drawn essentially to the boundaries and not so much to what occurs behind them. The attraction of these boundaries is that they appear as 'decided undecidabilities', necessary and undecidable for each societal domain, but also contingent, artificial and decidable when observed from outside. Consequently, public communications are treated mainly as opinions, as they make visible the necessary contingency of their respective standpoints. Thus, while the public sphere can basically make public any event and anything that occurs within society, the price to be paid is that every communication is rendered into a mere opinion. The public sphere involves thus a duplication of society in which its social and functional structures of differentiation or, more precisely, it multiple social and functional boundaries, are reflected through the production of opinions and opinions of opinions (Baecker, 1996).

If the idea that urban spaces involve condensations of social and functional differentiation (Nassehi, 2002) is seriously considered, it becomes possible to reassess the idea of urban public as a space where boundaries and realities of different societal domains become reciprocally observable and where collisions triggered by the 'decided undecidabilities' of these domains eventually occur. On that basis it is also possible to reassess the reality and position of tourism within the urban sphere. Indeed, the 'dense spaces' of the city (cfr. Massey, 1994) often become complex arenas where the 'decided undecidability' of tourism is discussed and where they collide with the 'decided undecidabilities' of others forms of communication making the city, such as city-marketing, urban planning, cultural consumption, star-architecture, filmic representations, politics of memory, and advertisement. I shall briefly illustrate this with one example that could be observed in Berlin during the Football World Cup in 2006.

Given the millions of visitors expected for the football event, the German government together with the German Industry Association prepared a vast marketing campaign to promote Germany's position in the new creative economy. The marketing campaign 'Land of the Ideas' intended to transmit positive images of Germany's creativity by highlighting

German inventions that had been major contributions to the world history, such as aspirin, Albert Einstein's theory of relativity and the Diesel motor. One of the central strategies of this campaign was the intervention of Berlin's public space with gigantic sculptures representing six German inventions, which were sited at places usually visited by tourists. A walking tour entitled 'Walk of the Ideas' was promoted as the best way to tour Berlin from the Museum Island to the new Government Quarter, attempting thus, to redefine the topology of Berlin's tourist space and transform the sculptures into articulating nodes of tourists' touring practices.

One of the sculptures aimed to praise the modern book printing press invented by Gutenberg was subject of an interesting 'public collision' between tourism, marketing and politics of collective memory. Rather than a printing press, the sculpture represented a tall pile of books written by the most famous German authors. The biggest book at the basis had the name of Goethe written on its spine. The pile included major philosophers, scientists, writers and poets and included Karl Marx, Friedrich Nietzsche, Albert Einstein, Heinrich Böll, and Günter Grass. The sculpture was installed on the North side of the Bebelplatz, a very complex urban square located at the South side of Berlin's most central avenue, Unter den Linden. Among its multiple functions, the Bebelplatz is, for example, the most representative site of the Catholic history of Berlin and major Catholic rites and events take place at the Cathedral located at its South side. It is also a public space intimately connected with the history of the Humboldt University, which Faculty of Law face its West side and its Main Building, from the other side of Unter den Linden, its North side.

Apart from this, its particular ambiance is mainly shaped by its very unique position in the urban landscapes of collective memory. It is indeed one of the few centrally located places, where memories of crimes committed by Nazis in the city of Berlin are remembered. The Bebelplatz was the place where in 1933, short after Hitler's victory, Nazi youths broke into the main library of Humboldt University (today's Faculty of Law), took thousands of books written by Jewish and communist authors and burned them in the centre of the square. Since 1992 a highly symbolic memorial located at the centre of the square remembers this event. A small glass in the ground reveals that beneath the square there is a white empty library with sufficient space for all the books that were burned. Besides the pane of glass, a plaque quotes the German writer Heinrich Heine, who in 1821 referring to the burning of the Koran during the Spanish Inquisition wrote: 'There, where books are burned, so too human beings are burned in the end'.[iii] In this context, it was somewhat uncanny that even though

among the authors piled up, there were many, such as Albert Einstein, Bertolt Brecht or Karl Marx, whose books were burned on this spot in 1933, the marketing campaign did not make any explicit references to the empty library situated less than 50 meters from the sculpture.

A closer look at the images, memories and narratives enacted by the marketing campaign reveals that they radically undermine the interpretative frame proposed by the memorial. Indeed, the memorial seeks to inscribe these memories as an open wound in the urban landscape and to present this wound as a source of irrevocable absences – the empty library. Heinrich Heine's quote renders the memorial into a place for reflecting not just on the book burning, but on all Nazi crimes against humanity. Only a few meters away from it, the sculpture of the book-pile presented the cultural history of Germany as one shaped by writing, reading and the printing press and framed the crimes of burning books as crimes against the 'German book culture', not against humanity.

> "The expansion of the written word accelerated the Reformation and the Enlightment and supported alphabetization […] Censure and barbarism could have almost destroyed it. On May 10th 1933 National-Socialists burned works critical of the regime by modern authors. The book-burnings ended 500 years of German book culture and designates one of the darkest chapter in our history […] A diverse media landscape developed again in Germany after the war".[iv]

This text could be found on the official website of the campaign, as well as in leaflets on the 'Walk of Ideas'. It made explicit something suggested by the gigantic dimensions of the book-pile, namely, that rather than irretrievable absences, the burned books have been recovered. Consequently, the Nazi 'chapter' appeared as a closed history besieged by the contemporary 'diverse media landscape' and not as an open wound.

Such tensions and collisions were interestingly, often 'made public' by tour guides visiting the spot with groups of tourists. By pointing to the contradictions between both interpretations of the Nazi history, tour guides were also making observable the principles and logics articulating politics of collective memory and marketing. This is, indeed, very common in Berlin, where tour guides and tourists exhibit a particular interest in public collisions and discussions surrounding series of places and sites, from Potsdamer Platz to the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe. Tourist communication becomes thus a central force in making controversies public, in the sense that it allows observation and reflection on the internal logics of other societal domains, such as marketing, politics of memory or urban planning. In the Bebelplatz, for example, this occurred not only while the book-pile sculpture was on display:

> "After explaining the meaning of the Bebelplatz as a place to remember the Nazi book-burning, Scott says that this square is also a great example of the current tensions in Berlin between memorials, places of memory and commemoration, on the one hand, and tourist and commercial attractions, on the other. There are big plans to transform this square, he says, with a new hotel with a restaurant with terraces being built. He explains that such urban developments are strongly criticized by some groups who want to keep this place as a place of memory. Such tensions, he argues, are pretty widespread in Berlin, since a lot of places contain these kinds of memories" (Fieldnotes, April 18, 2006).

In such situations, tourists do not just engage in dynamics of observation and critique of the 'decided undecidabilities' of other forces constructing the city, but are also confronted with the 'decided undecidabilities' of the societal domain within which they are operating, namely, tourism, and with the ambiguity of their position as sightseers enjoying leisure activities and public subjects having to come to terms with public issues.

Such examples also show that as soon as marketing communication enters the dense spaces of the urban public sphere, its own standpoint becomes public and therefore observable and debatable. Thus, while city-marketing specializes in producing a positive interpretation of the gap between the real and the desired city and to present this interpretation as *the* self-description of the city, one of the tour guides I interviewed would simply say, 'I don't want to be the one who thinks all about Berlin is good'. It seems indeed that placing tourism in the urban sphere would involve looking at the role tourism plays in making things public, as well as at the common ways in which tourism's 'decided undecidabilities' are made public in the city of Berlin. This would involve analyzing in more detail the particular public collisions and dynamics occurring between tourism, city-marketing, historic preservation, politics of collective memory, urban planning, and urban design, which seem to be particularly intensive in the urban sphere.

9.2.3. Contextual Orientation: Rethinking the Media of Urban Regimes.

Looking at these complex interfaces, it is evident that cities provide an arena not only for public collisions, but also for strategies of coordination and control of the multiple societal and functional domains shaping the city. Such coordination and control strategies certainly are not public issues, but are associated with urban coalitions of public and private (institutional) actors, who seek specific policy goals based on formal relationships and informal networks (Mossberger and Stoker, 2001). In this sense, placing tourism in the

multiple city involves investigating its particular interface with the 'urban regimes' regulating the city and its tourist dynamics.

While the embeddedness of tourism in particular urban regimes constitutes an undeniable fact, it is necessary to elucidate how tourist communication might be steered along. In my view, most analyses fail to explain this without rejecting the eigen-dynamics and self-referentiality of tourist communication at the same time. Tourism is essentially treated as an urban phenomenon, which can be regulated, moulded and transformed almost at will by 'tourism development regimes' (Long, 2000). Research has mostly focused on the actors and structures of urban regimes, as well as on its endeavours and regulation strategies. The question of how tourist communication can be orientated in desired ways without directly intervening or interfering in its internal dynamics remains however open. While in newly created destinations tourist communication might at first be directed, similar levels of intervention and control are not possible in long-standing urban destinations, such as Berlin, where tourist communication is oriented by its own history and eigen-dynamics.

A useful theoretical framework for understanding how tourist communication can be indirectly steered by urban regimes without undermining its functional autonomy has been developed by the German sociologist Helmut Willke. In the context of his 'critical theory of systems', Willke (2001) works out a theory of 'contextual orientation'[2], whose main focus is on the media used by organizations, but not only, to alter processes and courses of action in desired directions:

> "Orientation is only then necessary and does only make sense, when the interest of an action-capable system is that a running operation […] has a *different* result. Orientation changes preferences and, with this, selections in a context in which more than one option is achievable […]" (Willke, 2001: 194, transl. IF).[v]

Orientation is indeed a constituent of all forms of societal communication, such as tourism, which through its basic communicative structures (e.g. the distinction of destinations or the attraction of attractions) steers its own communication in certain directions (e.g. touring instead vacationing). Willke's theory points however to a different direction. Besides self-

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[2] In German 'kontextuelle Steuerung'. I translate the noun 'Steuerung' as 'orientation' and not 'steering', because the latter is in English too closely associated with navigation. Following the Spanish translator (Aldo Mascareño), I favour 'orientation' over 'control' to avoid a sense of predictability. Orientation (*Steuerung*) is for Willke indeed constantly exposed to contingency and obstinate refraction.

orientation, he emphasizes dynamics and the media of contextual orientation, by which organizational, social or functional actors alter the contexts and conditions in which other courses of action and communication occur.

This perspective is, in my view, particularly helpful to discuss whether and how it is possible for urban regimes to contextually orientate tourist communication *on* and *in* the city. Following Kazepov's (2004) suggestion that institutional contexts have much more influence on urban processes than historical or cultural contexts, it would then be necessary to identify first the institutional actors involved in Berlin's regime of tourism development, ie. the whole range of actors involved and its formal and informal networks of collaboration. While for the case of tourism in Berlin such research waits to be done, three institutional actors who play a central role in the 'contextual orientation' of tourism can be mentioned: the Berlin Senate (city government), the tourism-marketing agency Berliner Tourismus Marketing (BTM) founded in 1992, and the city-marketing agency Berlin-Partners (BP) established in 1994.

One can discuss the role played by these urban institutional actors in the urban regime of tourist development in terms of Willke's distinction of three media of contextual orientation, namely, power, money, and knowledge. If contextual orientation occurs through the imposition of politically-binding decisions (power), the introduction of economic incentives (money), and the distribution of knowledge, the central empirical question is *which* actors of this urban regime use *which* of these media to orientate *how* the operation of tourism.

Willke (2001: 151 ff.), like Luhmann (Borch, 2005), works with a very restricted concept of power, which only describes communication reinforcing collectively-binding decisions by implicitly referring to sanctions and ultimately to physical violence. Considering this, the possibilities of using political power for contextually orienting tourist communication are rather limited and of very general nature. Indeed, beyond very general regulations regarding the commercial and legal frameworks of tourist industries or the rights to mobility and stay of foreign persons, contemporary democratic local and national governments cannot legitimately intervene in tourism. No tourist attractions or touring practices can be made mandatory and certainly the very participation in tourism cannot be decreed. In contrast to this, a more effective political orientation of tourism could be found in former East Germany,

where only official tour-guides (*Stadtbilderklärer*[3]) were allowed to explain the historical, institutional and socio-cultural landscapes of the city of Berlin. Thus, for example, the guides of bus-tours crossing from West Berlin to East Berlin used to get off the bus and remain at the border, where an East German guide would take over the task of explaining the city and the wonders of the socialist system. Nowadays, no restrictions or prerequisites for tour guide services are in place in Berlin. At European Union level there are, for example, discussions about ensuring some standards in tourist guiding services are maintained by restricting the activity to certified guides. However, even in this case, nothing could ensure that tourist communication would unfold in the politically desired directions.

The weakness of political power regarding the orientation of tourism is such that, as the following example shows, it has to ultimately use physical violence to prohibit certain forms of politically unacceptable tourist communication. In December 2004 Alexandra Hildebrandt, director of the private Checkpoint Charlie Museum, which receives more than 700,000 visitors a year, set up a memorial to the people shot and killed while trying to escape from East to West Germany. The memorial consisted of 1,065 large wooden crosses erected in two vacant sites on both sides of Friedrichstrasse, one of Berlin's central commercial thoroughfares and close to Checkpoint Charlie.

The memorial triggered much public discussion given its blatant historical and symbolic inaccuracy. It was erected on a spot where no one had been killed. It remembered all victims of the Wall with crosses, even though only a few of them had been Christian. It suggested that 1,065 victims had fallen whilst attempting to cross the Berlin Wall. In fact the number of victims is thought to be between 125 and 262 persons. Discussions went on as to whether a state or city can allow a single individual to take decisions that involve its politics of collective memory, regardless of what the person is doing. The vacant land was leased by Mrs. Hildebrandt from a bank, which after discussions started, notified her that the deal was cancelled and obligated her to move the installation by end of 2004. Mrs. Hildebrandt refused to dismantle it. After a long legal battle, on July 5th 2005, the police tore down the illegal memorial.

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[3] The East German neologism 'Stadtbilderklärer' (guide to the city image) substituted the German concept 'Fremdenführer' (guide for foreigners), which was prohibited since it contained the word 'Führer' and thereby a reference to Hitler.

Political power framed the action of the police in this case, as it used violence to impose a collectively-binding judicial decision. Whether legitimate or not, this is one of the only ways in which urban regimes can use political power (strictly understood) to orientate tourist communication. Thus, for example, given that it was foreseen impossible to orientate tourist communication about Hitler's bunker in desirable ways, the most the political consensus could do was to decide to erase the place from the face of the city.

While political power can only stop the eigen-dynamics of tourism, money (or economic power) can only be used to initiate tourism. Willke argues that the strength of money as media of contextual orientation relies on its capacity "to infect with the virus of economic calculation every type of operations" (2001: 201, transl. IF).[vi] In the case of tourism, that virus plays a central role in the selection of tourist destinations given its strong structural coupling with economy. However, using money to maintain competitive cheap prices is a possibility that exceeds the economic resources of any public or private actor taking part in urban regimes by far.

Indeed, only in very exceptional situations, when other (political) aims are at play, the improbable scenario of the stimulation of tourist communication through direct economic incentives to tourists has become real. It could be argued, that the 100 German Marks of 'welcome-money' (*Begrüßungsgeld*) that West Germany offered annually since 1987 to every visiting East German citizen were a sort of economic subvention for the East German tourist demand, which was heavily constrained by the restrictive juridical regulations in East Germany. Shortly after the fall of the Wall this incentive was, however, abolished, as hundreds of thousands East German citizens were collecting such economic incentives for trips that were suddenly effortless.

Even in such extreme cases, money can only be used to trigger tourist dynamics, not to orientate them. Indeed, as Christopher Law (1992a) has shown, investing in tourism means for city governments and other actors within urban regimes of tourism development investing in architecture, in tourist attractions, in cultural institutions, in urban infrastructures, and in preservation of heritage. In all these cases, money can only prove to be poor, for while it can activate tourist communication, it cannot control its unfolding. Thus, even though tourists and tour-guides would go to Potsdamer Platz, the attraction would still be for some looking at one of the biggest failures of urban planning in the city.

In fact, the money that the marketing agencies BTM and BP receive from public and private institutions is not used to provide any kind of economic incentives, but to orientate tourist communication by producing knowledge on the destination Berlin. Willke (2001: 246 ff.) argues that knowledge constitutes the most effective media of contextual orientation, not least because contemporary society wouldn't have found any mechanisms to tame its power.

> "Civilizing the media of orientation power has been possible […] in the elaborated form of the democratic constitutional state. The 'social market economy', the welfare state and similar forms […] account for at least some achievements in civilizing the media money. The civilizing of the media of orientation knowledge has hardly yet started" (Willke, 2001: 249, transl. IF).[vii]

Willke defines knowledge by its capacity to provide valid definitions of reality, as well as valid explanations of the meaning of these realities (see also Luhmann, 1990: 122 ff.). This capability would be particularly suited to contextual orientation, especially when it is used for advising (*Beratung*) on the basis of expert knowledge. Advising (and consulting), observes Willke, changes the basic definitions of reality and the meanings upon which actors act, organisations decide, and communicative processes operate. The kind of knowledge produced is based on an experimental style, not a scientific one, so that the definitions of reality can always be strategically changed, until the desired results are achieved.

Probably the most successful strategic use of knowledge to alter the definitions of reality upon which tourist communication on and in Berlin reproduces itself was the campaign *Das Neue Berlin* (The New Berlin) launched by *Berlin-Partner* between 1996 and 2002. *Das Neue Berlin* became an all-embracing motto that functioned as an umbrella for multiple city-marketing campaigns and interventions that took place within these years. *Das Neue Berlin* was thus inscribed in thousands of souvenirs, brochures, magazines, books, city-plans, events, advertisements and posters, circulating as motto and logo ubiquitously through the city and beyond. Its main aim was "besides putting out a unified image of Berlin […] to foster […] Berlin's image as a leading, competitive, future-oriented and international metropolis".[viii]

Among the multiple initiatives and interventions launched under the umbrella of *Das Neue Berlin* one could mention the public exhibition *Berlin open city - the city as exhibition* which ran between June 1999 and January 2001. It sought to direct the public and tourist gaze towards the new architecture of Berlin. In that context, architecture and urban experience

were to become material proof of the newness of *Das Neue Berlin* and even a symbol of a new type of social life in the city (see also Farías, 2005). Interestingly, presenting the city as an exhibition was an operation based less on slogans and much more on the production of knowledge. The exhibition consisted mainly of information panels installed in selected places within the city and in the publication of one guidebook with information and colourful maps on more than 600 new buildings and one book with essays on the 'New Berlin' written by architects and urbanists.

It is certain that this massive production of knowledge influenced the main orderings of destination identity at play in Berlin since the fall of the Wall. For example, one should carefully examine to what extent *Das Neue Berlin* orientated the transformations occurring in the late-1990's with the 'always-becoming city' and the 'Berliner Luft' orderings described in Chapter 2. Indeed, when asked about the general influence of the 'New Berlin' on tourist practices and expectations, tour guides don't hesitate to advise,

> "It is very complicated. I recently had an inquiry from a firm; they wanted to show the New Berlin to business partners from Canada. I asked them first what they understand from the New Berlin and noticed then that they understand something quite different from what I do. For them it was of course in part Potsdamer Platz and the Friedrichstraße and had forgotten that a New Berlin exists beyond that, around the new Main Station or the City West. There is also a New Berlin. Of course the cliché of the New Berlin with Mitte and the new buildings is capturing, but at the same time that is ultimately the old Berlin" (Interview Peter Eichhorn, May 16, 2006).[ix]

The answer is revealing. It shows that the reality of the 'New Berlin' is not questioned even though one can disagree on the nature of the image or which are the places that best represent this 'New Berlin'. *There is* a 'New Berlin' and on the basis of that definition of reality, tourist practices and communication unfold, at least in part. Tourists and tour-guides might certainly be critical about this New Berlin, but the urban enactment produced by city-marketing is accepted as referring to an objective reality.

Thus, knowledge becomes a central media for the contextual orientation of tourism, but not simply by imposing positive, future-oriented or saleable images. Its contribution is much more subtle, for as it triggers discussions about the correct representation of the New Berlin, it ensures that the city is assumed to be a unified entity. This result in the context of a still spatially divided and increasingly socially fragmented Berlin, should count as a major achievement.

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Beyond these reflections and examples, placing tourist communication in the relational and policontextural urban sphere remains a major challenge for research on urban tourism. The challenge consists not just in investigating the multiple intertwinements of tourism with other urban phenomena and dynamics, but also in describing such intertwinements without at the same time rejecting the eigen-dynamics of tourist communication. This is something that, in my view, neither the symbolic economy approach nor urban regimes theory have done. Structural couplings, public collisions and contextual orientation are just three analytical perspectives that might open up new perspectives and prompt new research questions. At this point, only further research can tell us more.

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Berlin, February 18, 2008

Eidesstattliche Erklärung

Hiermit erkläre ich an Eides statt, die Dissertation zum Thema

Touring Berlin. Virtual Destination, Tourist Communication and the Multiple City

selbstständig und nur unter Verwendung der angegebenen Literatur und Hilfsmittel angefertigt zu haben.

Weiterhin erkläre ich, die Dissertation nur an der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin eingereicht zu haben.

Ignacio Farías
Berlin, den 25.02.2008

Annexe: Original Quotations

Introduction

I. „[...] vor allem das pulsierende moderne Leben der europäischen Metropolen“ (Kaschuba 1991: 36).

II. „Das Sehen, das Beschreiben, das Einordnen der neuen Dinge und Bilder macht die Reise zur bürgerlichen Sehschule. Blicke werden geübt: der historische Blick, der ökonomische-bilanzierende Blick, der zivilizatorische-technische Blick, der ethnographische Blick“ (Kaschuba 1991: 36).

[iii] „Kultur ist […] ein Weltprojekt, das sowohl Geschichte als auch regionale („nationale“) Unterschiede als Vergleichsmaterial einbezieht. Mit dem Begriff der Kultur wird der Begriff der Nation aufgewertet, ja in seiner modernen Emphase überhaupt erst erzeugt. Und erst von diesem Standort aus erscheint Kultur als etwas, was immer schon gewesen ist [...]“ (Luhmann 1999: 41).

[iv] „‚Erholung’ in der oder durch die Kultur“ (Pott 205: 307).

[v] „Da gibt’s ja 236 Tempel. Ich geh an den Strand. Berlin – Bangkok ab 229 €“ (Advertisement for AirBerlin)

[vi] „Diese Möglichkeit der Schwerpunktverlagerung zwischen Theorie und Methode widerspricht jedoch der These nicht, dass das Wissenschaftssystem beide Programme benutzen muß. Denn erst durch die weder auf eine letzte Theorie noch auf eine verbindliche [...] Methode reduzierbare Differenz von Theorie und Methode gewinnt das System jenen Spielraum, in dem es Eigenwerte suchen und gegebenenfalls finden kann“ (Luhmann 1990: 428-429).

Chapter 1

[i] “[C]omunicación es una suerte de juego que practican dos interlocutores, que se consideran asociados contra los fenómenos de interferencia y confusión […] *Dialogar es establecer un tercero y buscar excluirlo*; una comunicación exitosa es ese *tercero excluido* […] A ese tercer hombre lo hemos llamado en otra parte *Demonio*, como prosopeya del ruido” (Serres 1996: 45-46).

[ii] "[…] la *condición de la apprehension de la forma abstracta* y, simultáneamente, la *condición de la comunicación exitosa*" (Serres 1996: 48).

Chapter 2

[i] „Reisen nach Berlin, in einer Stadt, die weder die Patina von Rom noch das ‚savoir vivre' von Paris, die Schönheit von Lissabon oder den exotischen Reiz von Istanbul hat? […] Was gibt es in Berlin zu sehen? Mit Tradition und Geschichte hat es jedoch weniger Sinn gehabt als etwa Lübeck oder Leipzig […] Kompensiert wird dieser Mangel aber durch die wache Präsenz der Berliner, ihre quicke Intelligenz, ihre Neugier auf alles, was gerade jetzt in ihrer Stadt passiert. Die Gegenwart hier ist immer interessanter als die Vergangenheit, und nirgendwo in Deutschland hat Kreativität einen fruchtbaren Boden" (Berlin für junge Leute 1990: 3)

[ii] „Im Jahr 1990 ist Berlin sicher der faszinierendste Ort in Europa. Hier können wir die tiefgreifenden gesellschaftlichen Umwälzungen, die sich Deutschland und Europa vollziehen, hautnah erleben" (Berlin für junge Leute 1990: 9).

[iii] „Berlin (West) ist die einzige Stadt […], die direkt mit einem Teil der DDR, mit Ost-Berlin, wiedervereint wird" (Berlin für junge Leute 1990: 13).

[iv] „[…] bietet es sich an, die historische Veränderungen in der DDR hautnah mitzuerleben" (Berlin für junge Leute 1990: 38).

[v] „Die Wüste lebt. In Berlin (Ost) ist vieles anderes […]Und wer die DDR aus früheren Besuchen kennt, wird sich wundern, wie locker und unbürokratisch es heute zugeht" (Berlin für junge Leute 1990: 38).

[vi] „Die geopolitische Lage der Stadt prädestiniert sie dazu, im zusammenwachsenden Europa Forum zu sein für die geistige Annäherung und für die Festigung und Weiterentwicklung demokratischer Strukturen" (Berlin für junge Leute 1991: 5).

[vii] „Wir laden alle, die im Rahmen einer Studienfahrt hierher kommen, dazu ein, sich mit der Vergangenheit, der Gegenwart und den aufregenden Perspektiven einer Metropole im Aufbruch zu beschäftigen" (Berlin für junge Leute 1991: 5).

[viii] „Wenn ein geteiltes Volk aus zwei unterschiedlichen Wirtschaftsystemen plötzlich wieder ein Volk ist, sind Konflikte unvermeidlich. Bis es dazu kommt, dass „zusammenwächst", was „zusammengehört", wie es Willy Brandt ausdrückte, wird es noch einige Zeit vergehen, viel Geld investiert und viel Toleranz und guter Wille geübt werden müssen" (Berlitz 1998: 8).

[ix] „Es gibt ein Grund, warum man Berlin anderen Städten vorziehen kann: weil es sich ständig verändert hat“. Berltolt Brecht“ (ADAC 2005: 6).

[x] „Berlin ist dazu verdammt, immerfort zu werden und niemals zu sein“.

[xi] „Berlin […] ist nach wie vor im Umbruch: Die Anstrengungen, die unternommen werden, um eine repräsentative Hauptstadt zu gestalten, sind seit vielen Jahren enorm. Es wird gebaut, restauriert und saniert“ (Marco Polo 2005: 7).

[xii] „Schließlich ist Hauptstadt sein teuer“ (Baedeker 2005: 15).

[xiii] „Seit dem Umzug der Bundesregierung ist Berlin nun auch Verwaltungs- und Wirtschaftszentrum. Ob das besondere Flair dieser Stadt erhalten wird, wird sich zeigen. Ein Experiment ist es in jedem Fall“ (ADAC 2005: 7).

[xiv] „Wird es nicht fertig, dieses Berlin, das sich seit dem Mauerfall zur Hauptstadt mausert? Irgendwann muss doch Schluss sein mit Sand, Staub und Steinen, mit Glas und Stahl, mit neuen Dächern und moderne Spindeln an altem Gemäuer […] Berlin ist wie seit Beginn des Jahrhunderts beschrieben: Es wird“ (Baedecker 2005).

[xv] „Berlin ist Boom City: kulturell, wirtschaftlich, touristisch, politisch – aber es dauert. Dies alles sinnvoll und verträglich und im Glücksfall sogar noch ästhetisch zusammenzuführen, das ist eine Jahrhundertaufgabe für Stadtplanern und Architekten“ (Marco Polo 1998: 7).

[xvi] „Architekten aus aller Welt haben aufregende Spuren hinterlassen wie Helmuth Jahn mit dem Sony Center oder Daniel Libeskind mit dem Jüdischen Museum in Kreuzberg. Von Krieg, Geldmangel und Gleichgültigkeit beschädigte Kulturgüter wie die Museumsinsel werden mit Akribie wieder hergestellt. Botschaften fremder Länder haben mit einheimischen Materialien wie Indien und mit eigenen Architektursprachen wie Mexiko Akzente gesetzt“ (Baedecker 2005: 12).

[xvii] „So sehen viele Gäste eine Stadt, die es so vor zehn Jahren noch gar nicht gab, und merken es nicht einmal. Denn es ist den Architekten, egal ob am Potsdammer Platz oder in der Friedrichstrasse, gelungen: Die asimiliierende Architektur der Postmoderne hat sich überall perfekt ins Stadtbild gefügt, und nur wenige belächeln, dass Berlin noch keine Wolkenkratzer aufweist. Aber selbst die können ja noch kommen: Am Alexanderplatz etwa ist das letzte Wort noch nicht gefallen“ (Marco Polo 2005: 19-20).

[xviii] „Dutzende von historischen Gebäuden werden wieder belebt und –natürlich- mit neuen Inhalten erfüllt: so zum Beispiel der Reichstag und das gegenüberliegende Palais des Reichstagspräsident […] Da ist mehr Substanz vorhanden, als auf den ersten Blick zu sehen war, weil vieles im Schatten der Mauer […] lag“ (Marco Polo 1998: 10).

[xix] „Auf dieses schöne Kleid musste der Reichstag 20 Jahre warten – die spektakuläre Verhüllung fand im Sommer 1995 statt“ (ADAC 2005: 8).

[xx] „die Baustellen signalisieren den Wandel, den Umbruch der Stadt. Wie die Protagonisten auf der Suche nach dem Sinn des Lebens sind, ist auch die Stadt auf der Suche nach einem neuen Image, einer gepflegerteren Fassad“ (Fichtenau et. al. 1997: 77).

[xxi] „Der Wandel ist überall sichtbar; zynische Zungen behaupten gar, Berlin sei zur größten Baustelle Europas geworden, aber gebaut wird vor allem, um den ständig steigenden Bedarf an Büros und Wohnungen nachzukommen. Darüber hinaus wird der Reichstag [...] Hauptsitz der gesamten deutschen Regierung sein; die Ausbaupläne sind entsprechend ambitiös […] Der Potsdamer Platz […] ist begehrter Standort für große Unternehmen. Am vormaligen Grenzposten Checkpoint Charlie soll ein amerikanischen „Business-Center“ stehen, an der Friedrichstrasse wurden Einkaufzentren gebaut, und im Osten werden verwahrloste Häuserreihen, Mode Boutiquen und Zeitgeist-Cafés ausgeschmückt“ (Berlitz 1998: 9-10).

[xxii] “In dieser Situation ist fast ein wenig waghalsig, einen Reiseführer über Berlin schreiben zu wollen” (Marco Polo 1998: 8).

[xxiii] „Das Tempo, in dem sich Berlin verändert, ist atemberaubend. Neue Museen, Straßen, Bauten machen die Stadt zur Wundertüte, auch für Einheimische […] Selbst die Berliner kennen ihre Stadt oft nicht wieder“ (Marco Polo 2005: 19).

[xxiv] „Und so wie viele Berlinern, die tagtäglich ihre Stadt erleben, wird es auch Ihnen gehen: Auf Ihrer Entdeckungstour […] werden Sie erstaunt sein, was Sie alles vorher noch nicht kannten. Berlin –das ist wie eine Wundertüte: Viel Spaß bei Auspacken“ (Marco Polo 2005: 11).

[xxv] „So darf der Berlinbesucher darauf gefasst sein, Neues zu sehen und zu erleben, unabhängig davon, ob er zum ersten oder zum zehnten Mal kommt“ (Baedecker 2005: 12).

[xxvi] „Berlin ist eine Stadt, dies ist für mich sehr wichtig, die sich mit dem Erinnern an sich sehr schwer tut und oft ist dieses Thema, die Schwierigkeit mit dem Erinnern umzugehen, ein hervorragender Schlüssel in die Geschichte. Und das ist etwas, dass ich immer wieder anwende, dass ich manchmal in der Geschichte nicht beginne, sondern heute. Ich will auch sagen, wie schwer tut man sich mit der Behandlung eines Thema, eine Epoche oder ein Gebäude“ (Interview with Peter Eichhorn).

[xxvii] „Berlins Geschichte bis 1945. Als Berlin gegründet wurde, da waren Städte wie Köln und Paris bereits 1300 Jahre alt […] Es ist also eine relativ junge Stadt, die erst spät Bedeutung erlangte und Weltstadt wurde. Zur Millionenstadt wuchs Berlin erst nach der Reichsgründung

1871; beim Ausbruch des Zweiten Weltkrieges lebten 4,3 Millionen in der Stadt. Heute gibt es drei Millionen Berliner: zwei Millionen in West Berlin, eine Million in Ost-Berlin“ (DTV Merian 1989: 31).

[xxviii] „Stadtgeschichte. Vom Handelposten an der Spreefurt zur preußischen und schließlich Hauptstadt der Deutschen Reichs. Mit dessen Ende ging auch fast Berlin unter. Nach der Überwindung der Teilung strahlt die Stadt wieder“ (Badecker 2005: 24).

[xxix] „Mehr als ein Sechstel des Ruinenschuttes, der bei Ende des Zweiten Weltkrieges in ganz Deutschland ist, entfiel auf Berlin […] Bis jetzt wurden in West-Berlin fast alle Trümmermassen beseitigt“ (Polyglott 1976/77: 4).

[xxx] „Es gibt Städte, die verharren im Traditionellen. Für Berlin galt das noch nie. Selbst wer Berlin aus früheren Zeiten kennt, wird sich erinnern: in Berlin wurde ständig ‚gebuddelt’. Es wurde ‚gebuddelt’, als im Jahre 1855 der Buchdrucker Ernst Litfaß die ersten Anschlagsäulen an allen Straßenecken aufstellen ließ, als 1881 das erste Ortsfernsprechnetz in der Stadt verlegt wurde, als im gleichen Jahr […] die erste ‚Elektrische’ eingeweiht wurde […] Heute baut Berlin die modernste und umfangsreichste Stadtautobahn Deutschlands. So war und ist Berlin eine Stadt, die sich ständig erneuert. All diese Wandlungen und Veränderungen vollziehen sich jedoch völlig organisch. Sie gehören zum normalen Rhythmus dieser Stadt […]“ (Bertelsmann 1972: 3).

[xxxi] „barbarische Ordnungsliebe ihrer Politiker“ (Merian Besser Reisen 1989: 3).

[xxxii] „zu beiden Seiten zeigt sich die Entschlossenheit, das beste aus der Situation auszumachen“ (Berlitz Reiseführer 1982/83: 7).

[xxxiii] „[Die gleiche Destruktionsmanie] verband die feindlichen Brüder trotz aller ideologischen und gesellschaftlichen Gegensätze […] Was die Bomben halbwegs verschont hatten, wurde ungerührt abgerissen, um Neubauten Platz zu machen, deren geometrische Einfallslosigkeit und industriell genormte Eintönigkeit mehr über die ‚Menschenfreundlichkeit’ ihrer Planer aussagen, als diese abstreiten können“ (DTV-Merian 1989: 23-24).

[xxxiv] „Der Zusammenbruch des abgewirtschafteten SED-Regimes und der Fall der Mauer kamen gerade noch rechtzeitig, um vieles davon zunächst bewahren und später allmählich restaurieren zu können. Zehn Jahre später –und es wäre noch viel mehr unwiederbringlich verloren gewesen“ (Marco Polo 1998: 7).

[xxxv] „Nirgendwo sonst kann man an einem Tag zwei verschiedene Welten besichtigen – zu Fuß wenn man will. Eine Stunde im KaDeWe am Westberliner Wittenbergplatz und eine Stunde im Centrum-Warenhaus am Ostberliner Alexanderplatz – und man weiß mehr über

Marktwirtschaft und Planwirtschaft als aus allen Lehrbüchern (…) Berlin […] sei wie ein surrealistischer Käfig: 'Die, die drinnen sind, sind frei'. Präziser kann man die absurde Situation Berlins nicht auf den Punkt bringen. Berlin – das ist sowieso allerhand Gebrochenes" (Besser Reisen 1989: 6).

[xxxvi] „Die Kollision zweier Welten shuf die Mauer, die Zeit hat sie banalisiert. Sie gehört zum Stadtbild, man bewältigt sie mit bissigem Humor and geht an ihr spazieren" (Berlitz 1987/8: 39).

[xxxvii] „Berlin ist eine geschlagene, zerteilte, gebeutelte und doch höchst lebendige Stadt, Ergebnis eines Irrtums der Siegermächte, die glaubten sie könnten ihre Anti-Hitler Koalition auch nach Hitler noch ersprießlich fortsetzen. Die Folgen dieses Irrtums zu besichtigen, das ist vielleicht das Eindrücksvollste für Berlin-Besucher. Die Mauer durch die Stadt lässt niemanden kalt, der sie zum ersten Mal sieht" (Besser Reisen 1989: 15).

[xxxviii] „Berliner Mauer: von den Westberliner als 'Ausstellungsfläche' für Graffiti, Propaganda uns Karikatur genutzt" (Besser Reisen 1989: 7).

[xxxix] „Ob echt oder nicht, das weiß niemand: Noch immer werden in Berlin eingerahmte oder lose Mauersteinchen verkauft, die alle ‚garantiert' aus der Berliner Mauer stammen. Schon vor Jahren lag der Preis für ein echtes Mauerlement –zuvor Unglückbringer, dann begehtes Souvenir – angeblich bei 25000€!" (ADAC 2005: 85).

[xl] „Reste der Mauer sind noch heute zu sehen" (Berlin für junge Leute 1990: 155).

[xli] „Von der Mauer stehen nur wenige Reste, Ruinen einer längst vergangenen Zeit wie in Ephesus oder Karthago" (Marco Polo 1998: 7).

[xlii] „Das verschwundene Denkmal. Die Mauer ist fort, aber nicht vergessen. Während kleine und große Mauerreste Kaminsimse und Museen ‚schmücken', wurde in Berlin alles getan, um die Spuren vom Erdboden, wenn schon nicht aus der Erinnerung zu tilgen" (Berlitz 1998: 24).

[xliii] „Und auch die über 400000 Straßenbäume, gepflanzt, um das Dasein in der Mauerstadt erträglicher zu machen, sind geblieben" (Marco Polo 2005: 11).

[xliv] „Wo beginnt eigentlich der Osten, oder – wo hört er auf?' das ist ein Thema, das selbst die Einheimischen immer wieder beschäftigt. Lange Zeit brauchte man kein Kompass (…) Die Mauer (…) war Zeichen genug (…) Heute, über 15 Jahre nach dem Mauerfall, können Besucher der Stadt kaum noch erahnen, welche Unterschiede die verschiedenen politischen Systeme auch im Stadtbild geschaffen hatten" (Marco Polo 2005: 7).

[xlv] „Natürlich hat auch die jüngere Vergangenheit Spuren hinterlassen. Viele junge Berliner und Besucher Berlins haben die Teilung der Stadt niemals mit eigenen Augen gesehen. Gedenkstätten […] sind deshalb wichtiger denn je“ (Marco Polo 2005: 10).

[xlvi] „Die Berliner Luft gilt als Synonym für das gesellschaftliche und kulturelle Klima in der Stadt Berlin“ (www.wikipedia.de: Access 11 Dec. 2006).

[xlvii] „Das ist die Berliner Luft Luft Luft, / so mit ihrem holden Duft Duft Duft, / wo nur selten was verpufft pufft pufft, / in dem Duft Duft Duft / dieser Luft Luft Luft. Ja ja ja / […] / Der richtige Berliner gibt sich / gastfrei und bescheiden./ Drum ist er überall beliebt / und jeder mag ihn leiden. / Wenn sonst man „Mir kann keener“ sagt / so sagt in jedem Falle / wenn's dem Berliner nicht behagt / er sanft: „Mir könn' se alle.“/ Ja ja! Ja ja! Ja ja ja ja! / Das ist die Berliner Luft Luft Luft, [...]“

[xlviii] „‚Berlin ist mehr ein Weltteil als eine Stadt', so sprach der Dichter Jean Paul [...] Schon damals war Berlin anders als andere deutsche Städte. Eine Metropole von europäischem Rang. Eine Stadt, der Schiller „Ungezwungenheit im bürgerlichen Leben“ attestierte, ein Fleckchen aber, das auch schon vor über 200 Jahren nach Durchsetzungskraft verlangte […] In Berlin kann jeder nach seiner Facon glücklich werden – das wusste schon der olle Fritz. Und die berühmte *‚Berliner Luft, Luft, Luft'* ist ohnehin dufte!“ (ADAC 2005: 7).

[xlix] „Die Religionen Müsen alle Tolleriert werden und mus der fiscal nuhr das auge darauf haben das keine der andern abruch Tuhe, den hier mus ein jeder nach Seiner Façon Selich warden“ (www.wikiquote.de: Access 11 Dec. 2006).

[l] „Die Berliner sprechen keineswegs, wie gern behauptet wird, einen Jargon, ein verhunztes Hochdeutsch. Vielmehr ist das Berlinische eine echte Mundart, ein natürlich gewachsener Dialekt […] Allgemein dokumentiert der Berliner in seiner Sprache seine liebenswerten Eigenschaften: Schlagfertigkeit, Humor, Witz, Neigung zu Skepsis, Kritik und Ironie. Er hat ‚Schnauze mit Herz'“ (Bertelsmann 1972: 27).

[li] „Der Berliner Mutterwitz ist Sarkasmus mit Herz. Immer kritisch, immer messerscharf. Aber der Berliner ist auch weichherzig und sentimental […] Herz mit Schnauze. So war der Berliner schon immer, so wird er auch bleiben“ (Berlitz 1998: 12).

[lii] „Man spürt – bei allen tiefgehenden Unterschieden der Gesellschaftssysteme -, dass die Menschen im geteilten Berlin fast mehr miteinander gemein haben als mit Menschen in anderen Teilen ihrer jeweiligen Staaten“ (Berlitz 1987/1988: 8).

[liii] „Ob Ost oder West: Die Berliner haben einen schnellen und oft bissigen Witz. Auch wenn die Frontstadtatmosphäre oft zu Verhärtungen der öffentlichen Meinung führt, so bleiben die

Berliner meistens skeptisch gegenüber politischen Parolen und Versprechungen. Das Geheimnis dieses energischen Naturells, sagt man, ist die spritzige Berliner Luft – wie man sie zumindest noch in Dosen kaufen kann“ (Berlitz 1987/1988: 12).

[liv] „‚Die aechten Berliner sind sparsam zu finden, und diese Stadt ist mehrenteils mit Ausländern angefüllt, die ein buntes Gemisch mache’. So schrieb ein Chronist um 1880. Ausländer: Das waren alle Nicht-Preußen […] Und sieht man die Dinge so, dann stimmt das auch heute noch: Zuwanderer aus der DDR und aus ‚Wessiland’ –so nennen einige Berliner die Bundesrepublik- sind in Berlin mindestens so zahlreich wie Türken, Italiener und Griechen; und ‚aechte’ Berliner, Einwohner der Stadt in dritter Generation, sind in der Tat sparsam zu finden. Aber im Unterschied zu Hamburg etwa werden Fremde nicht isoliert, sondern nach dem Motto ‚Immer rin in de jute Stube’ an Herz gedrückt […] Die Integrationskraft der Stadt ist seit Jahrhundert sprichwörtlich, und doch wird niemand genötigt, seine Eigenheiten aufzugeben“ (Merian Besser Reisen 1989: 11).

[lv] „Wenden, Holländer, Franzosen (Hugenotten), Angehörige sämtlicher deutscher Stämme. Alle wurden binnen kurzer Zeit Berliner. Dieses Phänomen des Absorbierens hat Berlin heute noch. Daraus ergibt sich auch eine besonders liebenswerte Eigenschaft des Berliners: Er kennt keine ‚Zugereisten’. Wer mithält, ist Berliner, ganz gleich, woher er stammt“ (Bertelsmann 1972: 20).

[lvi] „Hier kam alles zusammen: Franzosen, Hugenotten, Österreicher, Polen und Russen, vor allem aber Juden […] Aber auch viele Schlesier kamen nach Berlin („Wat’n Berliner ist, der kommt aus Breslau“) . In Berlin war man immer urban und kosmopolitisch“ (Berlitz 1998: 12).

[lvii] „In Berlin wird nicht nur das Zusammenwachsen des ehemals geteilten Landes sichtbar, sondern auch Europas. Berlin gehört, und das ist einzigartig, sowohl zu Ost- als auch zu Westeuropa!“ (Humboldt 1992: 8-9).

[lviii] „Auf Wochenmarkten kaufen türkische Großfamilien gleich kistenweise Auberginien und Weintrauben, verhüllte Frauen feilschen um den Preis, Händler preisen lautstark ihre Waren an. Ein Hauch von Orient und ein echtes Erlebnis!“ (Marco Polo 2005: 9).

[lix] „*Berliner* ist man nicht, Berliner wird man, dann aber richtig. Und wer es noch nicht ist, kann es ja werden (ganz anders als in Hamburg), *deshalb* werden Fremde so schnell akzeptiert […] Die *Berliner Seele* sträubt sich, andere als besser oder wichtiger anzuerkennen [...] *Deshalb* gibt es in Berlin keine Hierarchien, keine feine Gesellschaft, keine politische Klasse, kein Lumpenproletariat […] Es gibt nur verschiedene Szenen, Kreise, Kulturen und

Subkulturen, und alle sind nach aussen offen für den Zugewanderten, den Zugereisten und den Besucher“ (Marco Polo 1998: 15, emphases IF).

[lx] „Sie werden überrascht sein, wie vielen Prominenten Sie in den (…) Restaurants oder Cafés begegnen. Und das ist nur in einer Stadt wie Berlin denkbar: Menschen in erster Linie werden als Menschen wahrgenommen. Ob jemand prominent ist, interessiert erst an zweiter Stelle. ‚Leben und leben lassen’ – das ist das vorherrschende Motto. Man möchte selbst als Individuum wahrgenommen werden, und das gesteht man auch anderen zu“ (Marco Polo 2005: 8).

[lxi] „Tolerant, offene für neue Wege und in vielerlei Hinsicht Avantgarde, so zeigt sich Berlin besonders in Bezug auf das kulturelle Leben“ (Marco Polo 2005: 8).

[lxii] „Früher war alles einfach. Da wusste man, wer, was oder wo in Berlin die Szene war, egal ob in Ost oder West: Prenzlauer Berg auf der einen, Kreuzberg und Schöneberg auf der anderen Mauerseite. Die Szene, das war die Avantgarde. Früher war vor dem Mauerfall. Als die alte Grenze durchlässig wurde und die Mauer schließlich verschwand, wanderte die Szene Richtung Mitte, Stadtmitte […] Und jetzt? Jetzt droht der Verlust der Mitte […] Aber wo ist die Szene heute? Überall ist Szene […] Von Marzahn (Springpfuhlhaus) im Osten bis nach Spandau (J.W.D.) im Westen, sogar bis Potsdam (Waschhaus) hat die Szene Orte besetzt, deren Namen neulich nur Leute aus dem Kiez kannten […] Geheimnis- und damit reizvoller sind die illegalen, nach Wochentagen benannten Clubs, die auf keinem Plakat und keinem Programm zu finden sind […] Hier ist er, der Mythos vom neuen Berlin“ (Baedeker 2005: 78).

[lxiii] „Trendscouts großer Modefirmen tummeln sich regelmäßig in der Stadt, um sich von dem phantasievollen und gewagten Outfit der Bewohner in Szenevierteln wie Mitte, Prenzlauer Berg oder Friedrichshain inspirieren zu lassen“ (Marco Polo 2005: 14).

[lxiv] „Der Baedeker hatte in dieser Stadt nicht sehr viele Sterne zu vergeben […] Wer nur die Baudenkmaler, die Schlösser, die Kirchen und die wenigen mittelalterlichen Reste aufzählen wollte, der verhielte sich wie jemand, der an einer lebhaften, aparten Frau nur die Ringe und Kette bemerkt“ (DTV-Merian 1989: 14).

[lxv] „Opern, Theater, Konzerte, Kabaretts und Varietes, Musik und Tanz, Lesungen und Vernissagen gibt es täglich im Überfluss“ (Baedeker 2004: 15).

[lxvi] „Es gibt keine zweite Stadt in Deutschland, deren Bevölkerung gegenüber den kulturellen Dingen derart aufgeschlossen ist“ (Bertelsmann 1972: 3-4).

[lxvii] „Überhaupt lieben es die Berliner, sich in großen Gruppen zu bewegen. Ob Karneval der Kulturen, Love Parade oder Christopher Street Day: je voller, desto doller! Und wenn es dann noch etwas umsonst gibt, wie etwa Kostproben auf der Grünen Woche, dann gibt´s kein Halten mehr“ (Marco Polo 2005: 16).

[lxviii] „Wollte man alles in West- und Ost-Berlin Gebotene besichtigen, brauchte man mindestens eine Woche für einen ersten Überblick“ (Bertelsmann 1972: 4).

[lxix] „Das Berliner Nachtleben soll nach wie vor das schrillste der Republik sein. Tatsächlich gibt es keine Sperrstunde. Wer also die notwendige Ausdauer mitbringt, kann die Nacht praktisch ohne Pause zum Tag machen und grundsätzlich davon ausgehen, dass immer irgendwo etwas passiert“ (Baedeker 2005: 76).

[lxx] „Wasserstadt. Kaum eine Stadt in Europa verfügt über so viele Seen, Flüsse und Kanäle wie ‚Spree-Athen’“ (Marco Polo 2005: 15).

[lxxi] „Die grüne Metropole. Neben seinem großen Kulturangebot besitzt Berlin von allen europäischen Metropolen die meisten Grünflächen“ (Berlitz 1998: 10).

[lxxii] „Berlin […] ist eine riesige Stadt, die weite Flächen unbebauten Landes umfasst. Innerhalb ihrer Grenzen befinden sich große Seen und ausgedehnte Wälder […] Zudem ist die Stadt von Flüssen und Kanälen durchzogen. *Aber* in wesentlichen hat sie *doch* urbanen Charakter“ (Humboldt 1992: 7, emphases IF).

[lxxiii] „Zwischen Alexanderplatz und Märkischem Ufer“ (ADAC 2005: 53).

[lxxiv] „Rund um das Charlotenburger Schloss“ (ADAC 2005: 82).

[lxxv] „Sand, Liegestühle und kühle Getränke wissen Berliner auch zu Hause zu schätzen. Strandbars am Ufer der Spree schießen derzeit wie Pilze aus dem Boden“ (Marco Polo 2005: 96).

[lxxvi] „Man muss Berlin vom Wasser aus gesehen oder erlebt haben, beim ‘Dampfer fahren’, nur dann ergibt sich ein Bild der Stadt, das dem der Berliner näher kommt“ (Baedeker 2005: 15).

[lxxvii] „Zwei Filme, 1927 und 2002 gedreht, beschreiben Berlin als Sinfonie mit Licht und Lärm und bunten Farben. *Aber es gibt auch das leise Berlin im Grünen* mit dem Plätschern der Spree und den weißen Segeln auf der Havel, mit den Eisanglern auf dem winterstillen Müggelsee, den Wanderern durch den Grünewald“ (Baedeker 2005: 15).

[lxxviii] „Man mag es zunächst für unwahrscheinlich halten, aber auch wer Erholung sucht oder naturgeschichtlich interessiert ist, kann in der Umgebung von Berlin und sogar innerhalb der Stadtgrenzen auf seine Kosten kommen“ (Humboldt 1992: 85).

[lxxix] „Ob Schlosspark Charlottenburg oder Volkspark Hasenheide, die Berliner lieben ihre Parks nicht nur, sie leben mit und in ihnen“ (Baedeker 2005: 304).

[lxxx] „Der Trümmerberg am Teufelsee, wo bis 1972 nicht weniger als 21 Millionen Kubikmeter Schutt in „neue Natur“ verwandelt werden sollen, ist bereits heute ein gesuchtes Skigelände, dessen künstlichen Pisten durchaus mit natürlichen Hängern konkurrieren können“ (Bertelsmann 1972: 19).

[lxxxi] „Die Siegesgöttin hoch über den Baumkronen des Tiergarten“ (Berlitz 1987/88: 24).

[lxxxii] „Das Stadtbild prägen sie überall mit, doch in Kreuzberg haben die türkischen Gastarbeiterfamilien ihre Kolonie gebildet“ (Berlitz 1987/88: 24).

[lxxxiii] „Zu erwähnen ist auch der Tiergarten, nicht nur als Auslauf für Spaziergänger und Jogger, sondern vor allem als Picknickplatz für die türkische Bevölkerung Berlins. Wer sich gerne hüllenlos sonnt, fährt mit dem Rad am Wochenende zum Teufelsee, während an Wochentagen über Mittag auf der Wiese über dem Halensee sich die Ku-damm Sekretärinnen von den Chauvis bewundern lassen. Der erste offizielle Nacktbadestrand am Grünewaldsee […] wurde dagegen von einigen Pennern und Exhibitionisten übernommen […] Die Leute mit der festesten Bekleidung dagegen stehen auf der Avus-Brücke in Wannsee“ (Merian Besser Reisen 1989: 12).

Chapter 3

[i] “[...] entsteht dieser Raum nicht etwa als der abgegrenzte Raum der Unterscheidung, sondern als diese Abgrenzung *und* die Voraussetzung dieser Abgrenzung“ (Baecker 2005: 82).

Chapter 4

[i] “*Hors* indica lo exterior y lo retirado, mientras que *là* designa el lugar cercano: el *Horla* describe pues una tensión entre lo adyacente, lo colindante, lo contiguo y lo alejado, alcanzado o inaccesible, a partir de esta cercanía” (Serres 1995: 64).

[ii] „Wenn wir an die Ampel stehen, bitte ich Ihnen, aufmerksam zur rechten Seite zu blicken, da sehen Sie eine Doppelreihe von Steinen. Diese markieren den ehemaligen Auflauf der

Mauer… Hier auf der rechten Seite… Könnten Sie sehen? Da stand die Mauer. Jetzt fahren wir praktisch in ehemaligen Ostteil der Stadt“ (Fieldnotes, September 14, 2005)

Chapter 5

[i] „Tourismus macht auch vor der Privatsphäre nicht mehr halt. Gerade in den Altstädten erleben die Bewohner, dass plötzlich fremde Besucher im Hof stehen und fotografieren, durch die Fenster schauen oder an der Tür klingeln, um auch das Interieur der niedlichen Fachwerkhäuschen in Augenschein zu nehmen. Was daran stört, ist nicht das Interesse der Touristen an sich, sondern die Selbstverständlichkeit, mit der sie den Lebensraum der Einwohner als Bestandteil des touristischen Angebots konsumieren wollen“ (Römhild 1994: 20).

[ii] “La no-ciudad es un orden que organiza la sociedad al mismo tiempo que la desorganiza y que no es otra cosa que una labor. Lo que funda la ciudad es lo mismo que la disuelve, una no-ciudad que no es lo contrario de la ciudad […] sino un deshacerse perpetuo de lo ya hecho y un rehacerse incesante de lo que acabábamos de ver desintegrarse ante nuestros ojos” (Delgado 2007: 62-63)

[iii] “[…] cada uno de ellos, empleados de banca, indígenas, enfermeras, en cuanto salen de su casa o del trabajo y toman el metro, se convierten en otra cosa. Y esa otra cosa es un personaje social que en cierta forma hemos desatendido. Sabemos lo que la gente es en un sitio y en otro, pero no estudiamos lo que la gente es cuando va de un sitio a otro” (Delgado en Farías 2004: 6).

[iv] “[…] *alguien* o *cualquiera en general*, o, si se prefiere, un *todos en particular*” (Delgado 2007: 188)

Chapter 6

[i] „Sie blicken auf den Reichstag und plötzlich verschwindet der Bau hinter der silbrigen Haut des Verhüllungskünstlers Christo. Sie stehen am Alexanderplatz und sehen, wie eine Hochhauslandschaft in den Himmel wächst“ (Berliner Morgenpost, 01.02.2005)

[ii] „Es gibt viele Leute die sagen können ‚Das ist der Reichstag’ und dann noch ein oder zwei Sätze, aber es gibt nicht so viele Leute die eine Stünde über den Reichstag erzählen können […] Es gibt sicherlich viele Leute die auf eine oberflächliche Art und Weise unterhaltsam die

Spuren von Berlin übermitteln können […] Ich mache eben speziellere Touren, mit Themen Führungen, wie Friedhof Führungen, die kriminellen Führungen, Führungen in Gegenden in die eigentlich kaum Touristen sind Vorort, wie in Lietzensee Ich biete 25 Führungen an und das ist für eine Person relativ ungewöhnlich“ (Interview with Peter Eichhorn, May 16, 2006).

[iii] „Noch mehr Arbeit sind die Friedhofsführungen, wo man sich viel biografisches Material merken muss. Die 1848 Tour, das war sehr schwierig zu vorarbeiten, weil da hast du Mischung einen chronologischen Ablauf, den man einhalten muss, damit der Kunden, der Zuhörer nicht verwirrt ist, und dann muss man es noch als Route in städtischen Raum verorten [...] Und bei einer Stadtteilführung hast du das nicht. Einfach hier stehe ich, wir sehen das und darüber geht es, dann gehen wir weiter [...] Aber wenn du eine thematische Führung hast, mit einer roten Faden als Thema, muss du immer viel konzentrierter sein, um die zusammenhänge zu konstruieren“ (Interview with Peter Eichhorn, May 16, 2006).

[iv] „[...] muss man den Blick inszenieren, wenn man ein Rundgang vorbereitet ist es auch wichtig zu schauen welcher Ort und welche Orte nehme ich ein, um was zu zeigen. Wo habe ich eine Sicht Axis, wo habe ich ein Blickwinkel, ein Blick auf Kontraste, oder wo kann ich sogar hineingehen und kann den Leuten eine verborgene Ecke zeigen, die sie so nicht kennen“ (Interview with Peter Eichhorn, May 16, 2006).

[v] „Menschen wollen überrascht werden. Gerade wenn es Berliner sind. Zeig den ein Gebäude, bei dem die hundertmal vorbeigegangen sind, und zeig ihnen ein Detail die bisher nicht so gesehen haben. Dann bist du der Regisseur die den überrascht. Die Überraschung ist die dramatogische Element was am meisten bringt, weil dann sagen die aaahh!!! oder ooohhh!!! und sind nicht gelangweilt oder versuchen dann besserwisserisch dich zu verbessern“ (Interview with Peter Eichhorn, May 16, 2006).

[vi] „Man sieht ein abgebrochen Mauer in einem Hinterhof, wo man sagen kann, hier war ein Haus, das war Bombenlücke wo wir schauen, manchmal gibt es ein Spur der Vergangenheit oder ein altes abgebrochenes Stein oder der Rest eines Denkmals ist eine wundervolle Hilfestellung für die Menschen sich das Verschwundene vorzustellen“ (Interview with Peter Eichhorn, May 16, 2006)

[vii] „Zwei anderthalb Gebäude gibt es noch. Es ist sehr seltsam, aber trotzdem sind die Leute fasziniert. Ich stehe mit ihnen, zeige ich ein chinesisches Restaurant, das heißt Pekin Ente, und sage so: ‚hier, da ging es hinein in die neuen Reichskanzlei, da waren die Langgänge in den Sack Richtung Hitlersbüro, und stehen alle da und starren auf diesen China Restaurant und irgendwas müssen sie doch sehen […] Sie stehen in die Wilhelmstrasse, sind eingeengt

von Plattenbauten und dann auf einmal erfahren sie ‚Mensch, genau da, wow, hätte ich so nicht gedacht'" (Interview with Peter Eichhorn, May 16, 2006).

[viii] „Viele aus dem Osten, die entdecken Dinge aus der Westvergangenheit, aber viel mehr entdecken eben Westbürger Bestandenteile der Ostvergangenheit [...] Wenn ich einen alten Westdeutscher erzähle, dass wenn man ein Trabi in der DDR bestellt hat, musste man 8 bis 10 Jahren darauf warten. Deshalb gab es die Fahraufträge für ein gebrauchtes Trabi neu Preis plus 1000 Marks. Etwas völlig absurd für jemand der mit freiem Markt aufgewachsen ist [...] Und für den internationalen Besucher ist der Dimension des Politischen relevanter. Der Checkpoint Charlie als Ort wo eben immer wenn der Kalte Krieg droht heiß zu werden, die Panzer standen, Ultimatum, Cuba-Krise. Davon wissen auch viel mehr, das sind die Bilder die um die Welt gegangen sind […] Egal ob die aus der Schweiz sind, oder aus England oder aus Amerika, die Fragestellung [ist anders]" (Interview with Peter Eichhorn, May 16, 2006).

[ix] „Ohne jeder Interaktion gäbe es keine Gesellschaft, ohne Gesellschaft nicht einmal die Erfahrung doppelter Koexistenz. Anfang und Ende der Interaktion setzen Gesellschaft voraus" (Luhmann 1997a: 817).

[x] „Eine funktional differenzierte Gesellschaft differenziert und spezifiziert Interaktionsweisen innerhalb der Funktionssysteme und ihrer Organisationen in einem früher unvorstellbaren Ausmaß" (Luhmann 1997a: 824).

[xi] „In der Interaktion sind Operationen, die einen solchen Wechsel von Code zu Code (und mehr noch: von Code zu Nichtcode oder von Nichtcode zu Code) vollziehen, völlig normal" (Kieserling 1999: 81).

Chapter 7

[i] "[...] bewirkt mithin, so überraschend das zunächst klingen mag, eine gewichtige Einschränkung der zugelassenen Möglichkeiten" (Luhmann 1997a: 340)

Chapter 8

[i] „Jemand meldet sich bei einem Survival-Training an, bei dem man nicht mehr als 3 Kilo an Material nehmen darf… Fragt ihn ein Freund: Und, was nimmst du? Antwort: 3 Kilo Dollar“ (Canestrini 2006: 153)

[ii] „[...] eine Operation der „Öffnung“, die die Grenze, die sie überschreitet, offensichtlich nicht auflöst, sondern markiert“ (Baecker 1996: 95).

[iii] „Dort, wo man Bücher verbrennt, verbrennt man auch am Ende Menschen”

[iv] „Die Verbreitung des gedruckten Wortes beschleunigte Reformation und Aufklärung und unterstützte die Alphabetisierung […] Zensur und Barbarei hätten sie fast zerstört: Am 10. Mai 1933 verbrennen Nationalsozialisten überall in Deutschland Werke moderner und regimekritischer Autoren. Die Bücherverbrennung setzt 500 Jahren deutscher Buchkultur ein vorläufiges Ende und bezeichnet eines der dunkelsten Kapitel unserer Geschichte […] Nach dem Krieg entwickelte sich in Deutschland wieder eine vielfältige Medienlandschaft“ (www.land-der-ideen.de).

[v] „Steuerung ist nur dann erforderlich und macht nur dann Sinn, wenn ein handlungsfähiges System daran interessiert ist, dass eine naturwüchsige [...] ablaufende Operation anders ausfällt. Steuerung verändert Präferenzen und mithin Selektionen in einem Kontext, in dem mehr als eine Option realisierbar ist und in dem der Unterschied der Optionen für die Absicht der Steuerung einen Unterschied macht“ (Willke 2001: 194).

[vi] „Transaktionen jeglicher Art mit dem Virus des ökonomischen Kalküls zu infezieren“ (Willke 2001: 201).

[vii] „Die Zivilisierung des Steuerungsmedium Macht ist [...] in der elaborierten Form des demokratischen Verfassungsstaates gelungen. Zumindest einige Erfolge der Zivilisierung des Geldmediums gehen auf das Konto einer „sozialen Marktwirtschaft“, des Wohlfahrtsstaats und ähnlicher Former [...] Die Zivilisierung des Steuerungsmediums Wissen dagegen hat noch kaum begonnen“ (Willke 2001: 249).

[viii] „Hauptzielsetzung ist neben der Herausstellung eines einheitliches Berlin-Bildes (...) das Image Berlins als einer führenden, wettbewerbsfähigen, zukunftsorientierten und internationalen Metropole [...] zu fördern“ (www.partner-berlin.de Access: 05.10.2004).

[ix] „Es ist sehr schwierig. Ich hatte neulich eine Anfrage bekommen von einer Firma, die wollten Geschäftskunden aus Kanada das neue Berlin zeigen. Ich habe sie erstmal gefragt, was sie unter den Neuen Berlin verstehen und habe ich dann bemerkt, dass die verstehen etwas ganz anderes darunter als ich selber. Für sie war es teilweise natürlich den Potsdamer Platz und die Friedrichstrasse und haben vergessen, dass ein neues Berlin darüber hinaus gibt,

rund um die neue Bahnhof oder das die City West jetzt neu definiert. Das ist auch ein neues Berlin. Natürlich das Klischee des neuen Berlin mit dem neuen Mitte und mit den neuen Gebäuden verhaftet aber das ist letztendlich gleichzeitig das alte Berlin“ (Interview with Peter Eichhorn, May 16, 2006).